



Is John McCain  
Healthy Enough  
To Be President?

How the Quake  
Disaster Will  
Change China



High School  
Musicals Try  
To Be Cool

# TIME

## Surviving the Lean Economy

How the next President can make America grow again

BY JUSTIN FOX



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# MEN LIKE EXTRA CRUNCHY NUTS.

WAIT, THAT CAME OUT WRONG.



KETTLE ROASTING MAKES  
THEM EXTRA CRUNCHY.

NEW PLANTERS KETTLE ROASTED PEANUTS.

INSTINCTIVELY  
GOOD.



# 10 Questions. For 13 years he has hosted the documentary series *This American Life* on public radio. The television version is currently in its second season on Showtime. **Ira Glass will now take your questions**

**How do you go about finding the stories on the show?**

Clark Cogbill

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

Eight of us put the radio show together, and we are in constant search of stories. It generally takes us four or five months to find enough stories for one show. A surprising number of things just come to us from our website, including some of the most beautiful stories we've ever put on the air.

**If you had only 24 hours to come up with a show, how would you do it?**

Monica Whitfield Brase  
INDIANAPOLIS

My producers and I would probably stake out one location. We would have to choose a spot where stuff is happening, where there are regulars and people have had time to build up relationships. That way the story can be about the drama between them.

**What's so American about *This American Life*?**

Emily Grosvenor  
IOWA CITY, IOWA

There's a story that shows up a lot—of people who have some scheme or some way to invent a new life for themselves. Those stories seem to me to be very American. I say that not knowing much about people in other countries.

**Do you ever bat around the idea of a *This International Life*?**

Dominic Girard, TORONTO  
I would love to do reporting in other countries. We'd have to give it a different name than



*This International Life*. That just seems like people with backpacks, which I can't imagine many people would want to listen to—including people with backpacks.

**What is your favorite episode?**

Dulcie Madden, HUBLI, INDIA  
We've done over 300 episodes, and there are a lot that I really love. We went out on an aircraft carrier at the beginning of the war against the Taliban. That's one of my favorites. The

median age on the ship was 21. It felt like being on a big, floating, nuclear-powered, very heavily armed college dorm. People were really funny and smart and charming.

**Do you have a relationship with your cousin, composer Philip Glass?**

David Potosky, MINNEAPOLIS  
When I was growing up in Baltimore, he had long moved away to become [laughs] one of the most famous compos-

ers of the 20th century. I remember when I was thinking of leaving Baltimore to do journalism, my mom said to my dad, "Well, Philip moved away, and he did O.K." And I remember thinking, Can we lower the expectations a little here?

**Do you ever feel as if you're cheating on your radio audience with the TV show?**

Vicky Knoop, SAN FRANCISCO  
Yes, very much. Yes, yes, yes, and it's a horrible feeling. It's like going under cover of night to somebody with more money and the ability to advertise the show. The radio show was very much cheated on and would have been right to take us to court.

**How much life does radio have left?**

Terry Ewing  
BERKELEY, CALIF.

A lot. As long as there are cars and there are people too lazy to download, we will have radio. Its demise has been predicted for over a half-century now. I don't worry about that.

**What radio shows do you listen to?**

Jennifer Rosa, SEATTLE  
*Radio Lab*, which is the most innovative show on radio. And in our house, the show that is most on is *Howard Stern*. That is just the happiest show in broadcasting, and I say to people who don't listen to Howard, It's not what you think. People who don't actually listen to the show just think it's about girls taking off their tops.

**How much longer do you plan on doing *This American Life*? What's next?**

David Nieman  
REXBURG, IDAHO  
I don't have any other talents, so this would be a good thing for me to stick with. ■

**To hear more from Glass and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)**



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**GARMIN**

# Postcard: Harlem. An ambitious redevelopment plan has residents and city planners feuding over what constitutes progress. Debating the historic district's next renaissance

BY ALEX ALTMAN

**H**IS RECORD STORE IS FAILING, AND Sikhulu Shange could plausibly assign blame to any number of culprits. Vendors hawk bootlegged CDs on sidewalk tables outside the Record Shack, which he has run for 36 years on Harlem's 125th Street. Websites offering pirated MP3s cut into his profits. And his landlord has been trying to evict him for more than a year. But Shange, 66, reserves his deepest anger for a new city plan that he believes will strip Harlem of its soul. "Working people are getting packaged to get dumped in the sewer," he says. "If the change takes place, it will be a total disaster for the community."

On April 30, New York's city council approved the rezoning of 125th Street, Harlem's main artery, to promote commercial and residential development. But the plan has drawn stiff resistance from commu-

## GLOBAL DISPATCH

For a new postcard from around the world every day, visit [time.com](http://time.com)

ty groups concerned that the historic district's unique character—and its prominence as a nexus of African-American intellectual

and cultural life—is under threat. Harlem's past and future coexist uneasily on 125th Street, where Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech still pours forth from speakers near the vaunted Apollo Theater. Pawnshops and hair-braiding parlors are increasingly giving way to Old Navy and Verizon outlets. In 2001 former President Bill Clinton opened his office here to great fanfare; last year the American Planning Association named it one of America's 10 Greatest Streets. But councilman Charles Barron, an opponent of rezoning, argues that the influx of major retailers has sanitized the neighborhood. "Harlem had a swagger to it," he says. "It no longer is the mecca of black America."

An enclave of posh summer retreats in the 19th century, the neighborhood hosted luminaries like Langston Hughes



Wheels in motion Harlem's Apollo Theater would have new neighbors on a revamped 125th Street

and W.E.B. Du Bois during its renaissance in the 1920s and '30s. Billie Holiday performed at the Apollo, and Fidel Castro stayed at the Hotel Theresa. In later decades, Harlem withered as soaring crime rates made it a symbol of urban blight. But since the 1990s, as Manhattan real estate prices have skyrocketed, the district's legacy and its perch atop Central Park have enticed real estate developers searching for the next up-and-coming neighborhood. The rezoning augurs wholesale changes, including luxury office towers and apartments. Much of Harlem is still comparatively poor—the median household income hovers around \$27,000—and Barron suspects that these gleaming additions will drive out locals unable to foot the rising rents. "Housing policies are the new Jim Crow policies for the 21st century," he says.

Others say the neighborhood's low-income residents won't be uprooted. "A lot of people living in Harlem are protected from very drastic increases in housing prices," says Lance Freeman, a Columbia University professor whose studies have

shown that the level of displacement prompted by gentrification is often exaggerated. Still, Freeman says, "if the rezoning has the effect that the city planners intend, no doubt it will significantly alter the neighborhood."

"No one is going to say that this is a perfect plan," acknowledges Inez Dickens, one of three city-council members representing Harlem. Dickens haggled with city officials to add considerable benefits to the proposal: affordable homeownership opportunities, a \$750,000 forgivable-loan program for businesses that may be forced to relocate, funding for arts and health programs and a \$5.8 million enhancement of a local park. None of this mollifies Shange, who says his and other local stores still face closure. "My business has been here through the worst of times," he says. "And now that there will be better times, we're not included." For locals like him who measure progress in terms of reclaiming the district's past glories, old Harlem has receded further with every new building. And this time, says Shange, it feels "like the bulldozers are waiting around the corner to come in and get started."





**KEVIN SPACEY**  
as RON KLAIN



**BOB BALABAN**  
as BEN GINSBERG



**ED BEGLEY, JR.**  
as DAVID BOIES



**LAURA DERN**  
as KATHERINE HARRIS



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# Inbox



## The TIME 100

YOU WENT NEARLY HALFWAY ROUND THE globe to find someone who would substantiate the addition of George W. Bush to your list [May 12]. Bush has little worldwide credibility, and a record 70% of the American public no longer supports his policies. By what reasonable measure is he one of the world's 100 most influential people?

Jeff Clark, CHURCHVILLE, N.Y.

AS A PERSON WITH AN AUTISTIC SPECTRUM disorder (ASD), I am outraged that TIME would regard Bob and Suzanne Wright as heroes. Their group, Autism Speaks, which does not have anyone with an ASD on its board, has joined with Cure Autism Now as part of a campaign to wipe out ASDs. Autistic spectrum disorders are not diseases, and I think I speak for many when I say we are happy the way we are. Autism is a genetic difference in the same vein as skin color, gender and other such factors.

Phil Ghuys, VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA

I'M A GEOGRAPHY PROFESSOR STRIVING TO get students to think globally, and I find your list to be disappointing. Tim Russert, Suze Orman, Miley Cyrus, etc., among the "most influential people in the world"? Really? The world is home to about 6.6 billion people, and Americans account for less than 5% of that total. Are your choices really apt for a global community?

John A. Alwin, FIRCREEST, WASH.

**'Peter Gabriel but no Bono? Surely there's been an error. Whether you agree or disagree with his politics, he uses the spotlight to bolster his platform.'**

Emily Hershenson, WASHINGTON

The missed! The missed! Bono. Also on readers' TIME 100 lists: the Pope and Al Gore

I APPLAUD YOUR CHOICE OF NANCY BRINKER. In 1977 my mother died after losing a long battle with breast cancer. I had just celebrated my 12th birthday and thought my life was over. I wanted to do something to help find a cure, but dealing with the loss of my mother was overwhelming. Brinker has immeasurably helped those who suffer from the disease and the friends and family who suffer along with them.

Andrew Halley, LAYTON, UTAH

AW, C'MON, TIME! ONE WEEK AFTER YOUR green issue, I find in my mailbox the TIME 100, complete with five—count 'em, five—varying covers. How many tons of extra paper did that require?

Joyce Jensen, SANTA FE, N.M.

HOW COULD YOU HAVE OVERLOOKED POPE Benedict XVI?

Henry Van Wassen, PITTSBURGH, PA.

LET ME BE THE FIRST TO SAY "WHY DIDN'T you include [my favorite person]?"

Paul Merrill, LITTLETON, COLO.

## Straight from the Cow's Udder

IF YOUR INTENT WITH THE PICTURE accompanying "The Raw Deal" was to dissuade people from consuming raw milk, you probably succeeded [May 12]. The photo is a highly misleading illustration of the state of dairy facilities in this country. The lack of cleanliness is appalling. I

## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ Our TIME 100 article on Digg CEO Jay Adelson incorrectly identified him as a co-founder of the company. Kevin Rose is the founder of Digg.

find it amazing that your photographer couldn't find a more representative scene to shoot.

Ray Mueller, CHILTON, WIS.

## Wright and Wrong

FINALLY, CLARITY ON THE JEREMIAH Wright issue [May 12]. Yes, he has done great things, but at a hefty price: despair about racism. People like Wright should be afraid of Barack Obama's promise of change.

Joseph Morris, CHICAGO

I DON'T SEE HOW OBAMA'S "DIVORCE" FROM Wright can be taken seriously. This was obviously a political maneuver.

Benjamin Munda, NORMAN, OKLA.

## Terror-Free Investing

"RULES OF DISENGAGEMENT" FAILED TO illustrate that all divestment models are not necessarily "terror free" [May 12]. Despite hundreds of foreign companies' doing business with Iran yearly, Iran divestment bills passed by California and Florida targeted fewer than 30 energy firms. Furthermore, loopholes allowed their pension funds to continue holding these companies in other public portfolios. By contrast, terror-free investing is comprehensive and accounts for the financial well-being of pension funds. That is why terror-free models use prescreened investment products excluding all foreign firms doing non-humanitarian business with Iran, North Korea, Sudan and Syria. This ensures high-yield returns at minimal cost with zero exposure to terror-sponsoring nations.

Kevin J. Murphy, Representative  
Massachusetts House of Representatives

BOSTON



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## PROFESSION: PILOT CAREER: ACTOR

People are acquainted with the star, the multi-faceted actor. But John Travolta is also a seasoned pilot with more than 5,000 flight hours under his belt, and is certified on eight different aircraft, including the Boeing 747-400 Jumbo Jet. He nurtures a passion for everything that embodies the authentic spirit of aviation. Like Breitling wrist instruments. Founded in 1884, Breitling has shared all the finest hours in aeronautical history. Its chronographs meet the highest standards of precision, sturdiness and functionality, and are all equipped with movements that are chronometer-certified by the COSC (Swiss Official Chronometer Testing Institute). One simply does not become an aviation supplier by chance.

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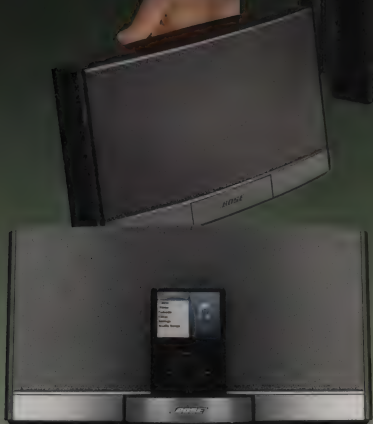


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# Briefing

## THE MOMENT



## Eye of the Storm. Nature's wrath is fickle, but how we respond is up to us

SOME BLOWHARDS WITH pulpits insist on attributing acts of God to the sins of the victims, but recent days have provided awful reminders that natural disasters don't discriminate. A cyclone killed 50,000 in Burma; an earthquake killed 15,000 in China; a tornado killed seven in Picher, Okla. The only generalization that can be made about all the victims is that they were unfortunate. As it says in the Book of Matthew, "God sendeth rain on the just and the unjust."

But natural disasters still reveal a lot about the societies

they strike. Hurricane Katrina didn't expose the wickedness of New Orleans, but it did expose the city's pre-existing poverty, the unwise destruction of its wetlands defenses and the dysfunction of the agencies that built its levees and responded to the storm. By contrast, the rebuilding of Greensburg, Kans., as an environmentally sustainable town after it was flattened by a tornado a year ago reflected American resilience and ingenuity. Hurricanes and tornadoes are random events, but preparations and responses are not.

Picher has its own American saga, the tale of a former lead-mining center that became the nation's most contaminated Superfund site. Its creek was the color of Tang, its population dwindled from 20,000 to 800, and the government was starting to buy out its holdouts in order

## Natural disasters reveal a lot about the societies they strike

to raze the ramshackle town. On May 10, Mother Nature beat it to the punch. Now everyone seems to agree that the town of Picher is dead and its residents will be compensated fairly. You can't blame

them for the twister.

You can't blame the Burmese military junta for Cyclone Nargis either. But you can blame it for seizing aid shipments and refusing to admit aid workers. Nargis exposed the horrors of Burma—not only for the cyclone's victims but also for the survivors, whose lives are imperiled by the junta's inaction and who will still be stuck there after the world loses interest. It's a reminder of Lord Charles Bowen's take on the Book of Matthew:

*The rain, it raineth on the just  
And also on the unjust fella  
But mainly on the just because  
The unjust steals the just's  
umbrella.*

—BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD ■



GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.  
John Edwards endorses Barack Obama



MALABAR, FLA.  
Windy weather fuels wildfires along Florida's central Atlantic Coast



CLEVELAND  
Indians make

# Dashboard

WASHINGTON MEMO

IN ANY other year, Mississippi's

First Congressional District would not have been in doubt. President George W. Bush won that northeastern corner of the state with two-thirds of the vote in 2004, the same proportion that elected the most recent Republican Representative in 2006. But on May 13, **Travis Childers**, a pro-life Democrat who supports gun rights, swept the district with 54% of the ballots.

It was the third leg of this spring's Democratic special-election trifecta. In March, Republicans lost the once safe Illinois seat held by former Speaker Dennis Hastert, followed by a loss in a Louisiana stronghold earlier this month to Democratic upstart Don Cazayoux. On Capitol Hill, Democrats did not bother to contain their glee. "The Republicans can run, but they can't hide in any district in America," crowed Maryland Representative Chris Van Hollen, who chairs the Democratic election effort.

Republicans struggled to avoid panic. The party's

leader in the House, John Boehner, called the result a "wake-up call." The head of the GOP election effort, Representative Tom Cole, told his fellow caucus members to "take stock of their campaigns" before the general election in November. His message was unmistakable: The national party cannot protect them. Republicans spent at least \$1.3 million to defeat Childers and even flew down Vice President

Dick Cheney for a last-minute appearance. "Voters remain pessimistic about the country and the Republican Party in general," Cole



explained.

Such harsh realities may not sink presumptive GOP nominee John McCain, who polls well ahead of the Republican brand in general. But they do portend the possibility of a Democratic majority not seen in Congress since the 1980s. Or as Larry Sabato, a political analyst at the University of Virginia, put it, "Republicans have to worry that this tide will turn into a tsunami by November."

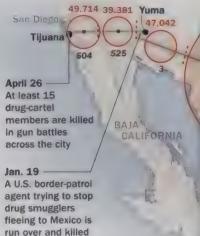
—BY MICHAEL SCHERER

## TRAFFICKING

### The Drug War's Battlefield

Six million Americans each year use cocaine—nearly 90% of which comes via Mexico. While the Bush Administration tries to get \$500 million more to fund Mexican antidrug efforts, the crackdown by Mexico's President Felipe Calderón has been met with an escalation in violence—at least 3,000 people have died in drug-related crimes since he took office in December 2006.

Source: U.S. Customs and Border Protection



## IMMIGRATION

### Migrant Crackdown

On May 12, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agents arrested 390 suspected illegal

immigrants at Agri-processors, an Iowa meat plant. ICE, the principal investigative branch of the Department of Homeland Security, has targeted businesses with high concentrations of illegal workers. Nearly 5,000 workers were arrested in 2007—an 85% increase since ICE's inception in 2003. Some of its other large raids:

**APRIL 2008**  
More than 300 workers at Pilgrim's Pride chicken plants are arrested in five states. One-third are quickly charged with identity-theft crimes.

**DECEMBER 2006**  
In the largest work site raid in history, 1,297 workers are arrested at six branches of meat processor Swift & Co. At last estimate, nearly 70% of the



## Briefing



MLB's 14th-ever unassisted triple play . . . At least 200 injured and 80 killed in series of bomb blasts

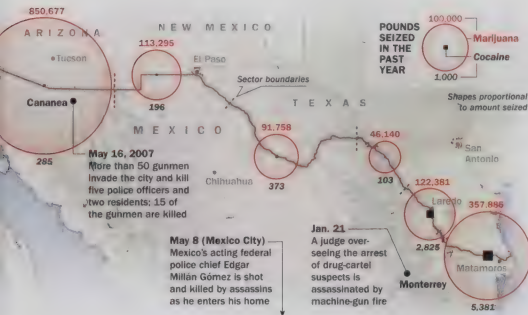


JAIPUR, INDIA



WASHINGTON

National Cathedral celebrates its centennial



### AUTOMOBILES

## Who Will Save the Electric Car?



Automotive partners Nissan and Renault unveiled a prototype for their all-electric car in Israel May 11 (above), two days before Nissan announced plans to mass-market a similar model in the U.S. and Japan by 2010. GM says it won't be far behind with its 2012 Chevrolet Volt, a gas-electric hybrid.

**POWERING UP** Though nearly every top-tier carmaker is developing an electric model, problems with the technology remain. The cost of lithium-ion batteries can be as high as \$25,000 each, and their limited road time between charges means such cars are impractical for long commutes. And because most electricity in the U.S. is generated by coal or nuclear power, a new set of pollution issues must be addressed. Denmark, which is working with Nissan and Renault to market electric vehicles, hopes to use wind turbines to fuel its transportation revolution. Israel, meanwhile, plans to have a national recharging grid by 2009.

### ENVIRONMENT

## Giving Up a Losing Battle

CONSERVATION Activists are calling the abrupt departure of Brazil's Environment Minister a huge setback in the fight to save the Amazon. Marina Silva resigned May 13, citing resistance from officials and lobbyists toward efforts to halt rising deforestation rates—a spike largely attributed to soaring food prices and increased demand for biofuels.



**LEGACY** Silva failed to stop key dam and road projects and suffered a political blow in 2007, when President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva split up Brazil's environment agency. Carlos Minc, a co-founder of the country's Green Party, will take over Silva's role, amid concern over the ecological effects of Brazil's economic boom.

detainees have been convicted or deported. A union official was convicted of harboring illegal aliens.

**APRIL 2006** More than 1,100 workers are arrested at 52 workshops of IFCO Systems North America, a pallet-recycling company. Seven managers have pleaded guilty to knowingly hiring illegals; five more have been indicted.

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## The Page

BY MARK HALPERIN

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Clip-'n'-Save  
Calendar Edition

Although the nomination battles were marathons, a likely McCain-Obama general election will be a sprint of less than six months. The big moments, when regular voters pay closest attention: running-mate announcements, convention acceptance speeches, debates and Election Day. But other days will be key too. Here is your clip-'n'-save guide.

## June

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

**JUNE 1**  
Puerto Rico primary

**JUNE 3**  
Montana and South Dakota primaries (final contests and the anticipated end of the Democrats' long battle)

## July

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27	28	29	30	31		

**JULY 4**  
Independence Day (candidates wear their patriotism on their sleeve at parades, cookouts, etc.)

**JULY 15**  
Veepstakes guessing games go into overdrive

## August

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
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31						

**AUG. 4**  
Obama's birthday (a chance for the McCain campaign to call Obama's age into question)

**AUG. 8-24**  
Summer Olympics in China (for Americans, a chance to cheer U.S. athletes; for candidates, a chance to mix with medal winners—and deal with China's human-rights record)

**AUG. 25-28**  
Democratic Convention in Denver

**AUG. 29**  
McCain's birthday (a chance for the Obama campaign to call McCain's age into question)

**AUG. 29**  
Katrina anniversary (another opportunity for McCain to distance himself from the Bush Administration)

## September

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28	29	30				

**SEPT. 1**  
Labor Day (the media-created traditional kickoff of the fall campaign)

**SEPT. 1-4**  
Republican Convention in Minneapolis-St. Paul

**SEPT. 4**  
Start of the NFL season (the nation's attention is diverted)

**SEPT. 11**  
Terrorist-attack anniversary (a symbolic moment for the country—and the candidates)

**SEPT. 26**  
First presidential debate, in Oxford, Miss.

## October

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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**OCT. 1** Concern grows over a last-minute October surprise that could swing votes

**OCT. 2** Veep debate in St. Louis, Mo.

**OCT. 7** Second presidential debate, in Nashville

**OCT. 15** Third presidential debate, in Hempstead, N.Y.

**OCT. 16**  
Al Smith Dinner (an annual Catholic charity event in New York City and opportunity for presidential candidates to make charming, funny and inspirational speeches)

**OCT. 21**  
Tentative start of baseball's World Series (the nation's attention is diverted)

## November

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23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

**NOV. 4**  
ELECTION DAY

**STATES TO WATCH:** Colorado, Florida, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Washington and Wisconsin

**REPUBLICAN WILD CARDS:** California and New Jersey

**DEMOCRATIC WILD CARDS:** Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina

BENJAMIN  
BRATT

ERIC  
McCORMACK

CHRISTA  
MILLER

DANIEL DAE  
KIM

VIOLA  
DAVIS

WITH RICKY  
SCHRODER

AND ANDRE  
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RIDLEY SCOTT & TONY SCOTT DAVID W. ZUCKER TOM THAYER MICHAEL CRICHTON RUBENA SHERMANIAN MIKAL SLOTHOFF

# Verbatim

'It's fair to say that our hearts sank when the result was finally ratified.'

**CHERIE BLAIR**, wife of former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, writing in her new memoir about the couple's reaction to the 2000 election of George W. Bush as President



'It is the property of the Spanish navy, government and people, and we want it all back.'

**TEODORO DE LESTE CONTRERAS**, an admiral with the Spanish Culture Ministry, on a \$500 million treasure discovered aboard a sunken 19th century Spanish warship by a U.S.-based marine-exploration company



'He's stopped using curse words in public.'

**NORM COLEMAN**, Minnesota Senator, accusing comedian Al Franken, Coleman's likely Democratic opponent, of softening his demeanor ahead of the general-election campaign

'We cannot operate without private security firms in Iraq. If the contractors were removed, we would have to leave Iraq.'

**PATRICK F. KENNEDY**, U.S. Under Secretary of State for Management, on the decision to renew Blackwater's contract to protect American diplomats despite inquiries into the firm's conduct



'I think what's true is that we're recession-resistant.'

**CHRISTIE HEFNER**, CEO of Playboy Enterprises, conceding that pornography is not recession-proof; the company lost \$3.1 million in the first quarter of 2008

'Mr. President, it does not require a foreign country to commit terrorist acts on American soil.'

**WILLIE JESSOP**, an elder of the Fundamentalist Church of Latter Day Saints, in a letter to President Bush about the raid on the church's Texas compound last month, saying the separation of the polygamist sect's children from their parents is a "terrorist act"



## NUMBERS

### GRAND OPENINGS

**\$310 million**

First-day sales of *Grand Theft Auto IV*. Guinness World Records named the video game's launch the most profitable entertainment release of all time

**\$220 million**

Previous one-day sales record, set by the book *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*

### LAW

**\$400 billion**

Damages sought in a U.S. class action against more than 50 companies that did business in South Africa during the apartheid era

**4**

Number of Supreme Court Justices who had conflicts of interest in the case's appeal, requiring the court to affirm a lower-court ruling allowing the suit to move forward

### LANGUAGE

**10,000**

Number of people who speak Ojibwa, an ancient Native American language used in more than 200 communities across the Great Lakes region



**80%**

Percentage of Ojibwa speakers older than 60. Researchers are working to preserve the language before it becomes extinct

### HEALTH

**15,000**

Number of poultry killed by South Korean officials in Seoul over a 24-hour period to curb the spread of a new bird-flu outbreak

**241**

Number of people who have died of bird flu since 2003, according to the World Health Organization. Most human cases have been linked to infected poultry

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Sources: *Times of London*; AP (4); New York *Times* (2); CNN

Sources: Guinness World Records (3); Wall Street Journal (1); USA Today (3); AP (1)



# People



Q &amp; A

## Talking with Jesse McCartney

The pop star co-wrote Leona Lewis' No. 1 hit *Bleeding Love* and now has a new album, *Departure*. In stores May 20.

**What's different about *Departure*?** It's a little more R&B-infused, and it was also written on the piano as opposed to the guitar. It's a 21-year-old male's perspective on women. I came out of a three-year relationship, so that made for some good songwriting.

**Why transition from pop to R&B?** I've always known that I've wanted to gravitate toward soul music. My parents' record collection was James Brown, Ray Charles, Michael Jackson, Elvis Presley. For me, that's where I've wanted to be. I just never pulled the trigger on it.

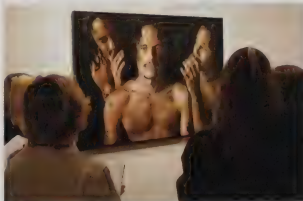
**You lent your voice to two films—*Horton Hears a Who* and *Alvin and the Chipmunks*. What was that like?** I like to entertain in general; I don't want to be pinned down as just a singer. When they asked me to be [Theodore] in *Alvin and the Chipmunks*, I flipped out because that was my favorite cartoon.

**Did you ever worry that you would become a one-hit wonder?** When you have a song [the 2004 hit *Beautiful Soul*] that does those kinds of numbers, you all of a sudden have something to top. It can be tough. For me, there is such a thing as having a song that's too big, because it's hard to exceed what you've already done.



## First Twin gets hitched

President Bush's daughter JENNA, 26, wed HENRY HAGER at the family's Crawford, Texas, compound on May 10. Jenna is the 22nd person to marry with a father in the Oval Office. Her simple nuptials were in stark contrast to Tricia Nixon's wedding, which was broadcast live from the White House's Rose Garden in '71.



## A haunting portrait

The late HEATH LEDGER'S popularity among his fellow Australians remains high. *Heath*, a portrait created by friend Vincent Fantauzzo weeks before the Oscar-nominated actor's death, was awarded the people's-choice honor at Australia's Archibald Prize Exhibition.

## CELEBRITY ROUNDUP

**Separated.** LIV TYLER, from her husband of five years, ROYSTON LANGDON. The couple have one child.

**Charged.** CSI star GARY DOURDAN, with felony possession of heroin, cocaine and ecstasy, after his arrest last month in Palm Springs, Calif.

**To be replaced.** NICOLE KIDMAN, as the face of Chanel No. 5, by French actress AUDREY TAUOU, in 2009.

**Graduated.** VANESSA WILLIAMS, from Syracuse University, 25 years after she dropped out to compete in—and win—the Miss America pageant.

**Inducted.** CARRIE UNDERWOOD, into Nashville's Grand Ole Opry.

## Lindsay-phobic?

LINDSAY LOHAN was reportedly dropped from the film *Manson Girls* after producers failed to find big-name actors who would work with her. Lohan's reps cite scheduling conflicts.



# Milestones

**DEAD** SIX WEEKS AFTER A diagnosis of terminal cancer, Irish journalist and author **Nuala O'Faolain** confessed that life, for her, had lost its beauty. "There is an absolute difference between knowing that you are likely to die—let's say, within the next year—and not knowing when you are going to die," she said during a tearful radio interview. Ever unflinching in her writing, O'Faolain explored the struggle of growing up poor in mid-20th century Ireland in her first memoir, *Are You Somebody?*, before penning the novel *My Dream of You*, also set in her homeland. She struggled to find meaning in her final days, but for her fans and devoted readers of her *Irish Times* column, O'Faolain's words endure. She was 68.

■ **THOUGH SHE BEGAN HER** acting career onstage in New York City and with a notable portrayal of Honey in the original 1964 London production of *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, **Beverlee McKinsey** was best known for her work on the small screen. She earned four Daytime Emmy nomina-

tions during her nine-year tenure as the conniving Iris Carrington on the soap opera *Another World* and captivated audiences as the matriarch on the popular series *Guiding Light*, which she starred in from 1984 to 1992. She was 72.

■ **ACCLAIMED GOSPEL SINGER** **Dottie Rambo** was one of her genre's most prolific songwriters, composing more than 2,500 works. She performed her songs across the country, but much of what she wrote was recorded by other musicians—among them, Elvis Presley, Johnny Cash and Whitney Houston. One of her best-loved recent songs, *Stand by the River*, was recorded as a duet with Dolly Parton on Rambo's 71st album. She was killed in a tour bus accident while traveling to perform in Texas. She was 74.

■ **KNOWN AS "LA DIVA TURCA"** throughout her more than 70 roles at Italy's La Scala opera house, Turkish soprano **Leyla Gencer** won a reputation for both her beautiful voice and her imperious personality. Critics were wowed by her



inspired performances in everything from *Madame Butterfly* to *Don Giovanni*. Off stage, Gencer was unabashed about her domineering manner, explaining simply, "I say what I think." She was 79.

■ **WITH HIS MIXTURE OF POP** and traditional country-music styles, guitarist and singer **Eddy Arnold** earned induction into the Country Music Hall of Fame in 1966 and a spot on the Top 10 charts alongside the Beatles and the Rolling Stones in 1965. Raised on a Tennessee sharecropper's farm, Arnold never lost touch with his roots. Even as he gained an increasingly cosmopolitan following with crossover hits like *Make the World Go Away*, he continued to refer to himself as the "Tennessee Plowboy," at one point even crediting his success to hard work on the farm. "That's why I wanted to play the guitar," he said in 1947. "So I wouldn't have to keep plowin' all my life." He was 89.

■ **SOME 2,500 JEWISH** children in Warsaw were spared death at the hands of the Nazis from 1940 to 1943 thanks to the efforts of Polish social worker **Irena Sendlerowa**. Through a variety of means—smuggling

children through sewers, hiding them in suitcases or even in her clothing—Sendlerowa brought young Jews to safety while German forces razed the Warsaw



ghetto. Later, when captured and tortured, she never gave up their names. Though honored

by her country and nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize, Sendlerowa did not consider herself a hero. She was 98.



**DECLARED DEAD** WITH A TRACK record that reads like a movie script,

American swindler **Robert Vesco** successfully evaded the U.S. justice system for more than 25 years. Perhaps most infamous for allegedly scamming investors out of more than \$200 million during the 1970s, Vesco fled the U.S. in 1972, on the run from charges ranging from looting to drug trafficking. His fraud finally caught up with him when a Cuban court sentenced him to prison for more than a decade for marketing a bogus pill to cure cancer and AIDS. A recently discovered burial record confirmed his death in November 2007. He was 71.





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Joe

# Klein

## Hamas Hysteria. Smeared by McCain, Obama says he won't talk to the bad guys. They're both failing the leadership test

YOU'VE GOT TO WONDER WHAT SORT OF anti-Israel, soft-on-terrorism nutjob said this after the elections that brought Hamas to power in 2006: "So the Palestinians had another election yesterday, and the results of which remind me about the power of democracy ... Obviously, people were not happy with the status quo. The people are demanding honest government. The people want services ... And so the elections should open the eyes of the Old Guard there in the Palestinian territories ... There's something healthy about a system that does that."

**Wait a minute. That wasn't some pro-terrorist nutjob.** It was George W. Bush. The President balanced that assessment of Hamas with, "I don't see how you can be a partner in peace if you advocate the destruction of a country as part of your platform." But that's the point: it was a balanced statement on an issue that has not produced many such—and none at all in the U.S. presidential campaign. Of course, Bush had a stake in the Palestinian elections. His Administration had demanded them, over the quiet objections of the Israelis and the Palestinian Authority—both of which suspected that the service-providing terrorists of Hamas might win. And very soon after that initial, gracious statement, Bush changed course and, along with some of our European allies, refused to deal with the Hamas government unless it recognized Israel. The message to democracy activists in the region was crystal clear: We want elections unless we don't like the results of those elections. It

stands as Exhibit A of the incoherence of the Bush foreign policy.

How to deal with groups like Hamas should be an important debate in the coming U.S. election, but it won't be. It was taken off the table in the past few weeks. First, John McCain allowed his campaign to spread the word that Barack Obama had been "endorsed" by a leader of Hamas. That will be one of McCain's main lines of attack: Obama is soft on terrorism. He wants to negotiate with Iran. He has advisers like Zbigniew Brzezinski who have



been "anti-Israel" in the past; the wantonly accommodating spirit of Jimmy Carter looms heavy over Obama's candidacy. Such accusations subtly reinforce the most scurrilous smears circulating about Obama—that he's a Muslim Manchurian Candidate, a secret agent sent to do us in.

Obama responded quickly and definitively to McCain's attack. He told Jeffrey Goldberg of the *Atlantic*, "I've repeatedly condemned [Hamas]. I've repeatedly said ... since [Hamas] is a terrorist organization, we should not be dealing with them until they recognize Israel, renounce terrorism and abide by previous agreements." To reinforce this message, Obama dropped Robert Malley of the International Crisis Group (ICG) from his list of advisers. Malley's offense had been to meet with Hamas leaders. Given the ICG's mission—the peaceful, negotiated resolu-

tion of conflicts—Malley would not have been doing his job if he hadn't met with Hamas. And given Obama's oft-stated position that we should be talking to all parties in the region, the Illinois Senator's position on Hamas can only be considered a sad abandonment of principles. And McCain's predilection for bluster marks him as a leader potentially less flexible than even Bush.

**This is not to suggest that Hamas is even vaguely reputable, even if it did win a free and fair election.** This is not even to suggest official U.S.-Hamas talks. Those should be a reward for good behavior—perhaps not the recognition of Israel, which Hamas considers a matter to be resolved in formal negotiations, but a real cease-fire—for starters, the end of rocket attacks from Gaza. Meanwhile, the unofficial contacts that people like Malley have with Hamas are extremely valuable. They are the avatars of negotiation. In Iraq, the U.S. military has had quiet talks with everyone from the Sunni insurgents in Fallujah in 2004 to the "special groups" in Sadr City today. Our European partners meet surreptitiously with Hamas—the British diplomat Sir Jeremy Greenstock has publicly acknowledged having such meetings. Furthermore, talks with Hamas have been advocated by a broad swath of notable Israelis—including a former head of Mossad, a former Foreign Minister and Ariel Sharon's former national security adviser. Why should it be easier for an Israeli politician to favor talks with Hamas than it is for an American?

"If you're not talking to everyone, you're going to be Chalabied every time," says Daniel Levy, an Israeli who has negotiated extensively with Palestinians, referring to Ahmad Chalabi, the Iraqi who helped mislead the U.S. into war with Iraq. Indeed, the next President will be negligent if he doesn't include someone like Malley in his circle of Middle East advisers. There is a need to keep all channels open in that insanely complicated region. It is tragic that both McCain and Obama seem poised to fail this essential test of leadership.

**How to deal with groups like Hamas should be an important debate in the coming U.S. election, but it won't be. It was taken off the table in the past few weeks**





WORLD

# Out of The Ruins

After a killer quake, Beijing scrambles to show the world it can cope with a massive humanitarian crisis. How the disaster—and the government's response to it—could change China forever

BY SIMON ELEGANT/BEIJING WITH AUSTIN RAMZY/DUJIANGYAN

**Reduced to rubble** A woman and her boyfriend search for their belongings amid the ruins of what was once a block of apartments and shops in Dujiangyan.



one of many densely populated towns that were leveled by the earthquake

Photographs for TIME by Ian Teh



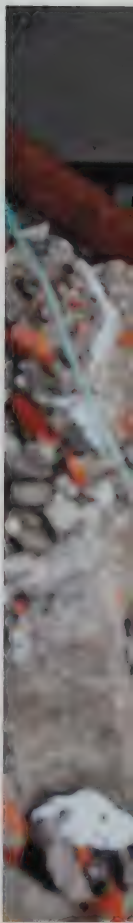
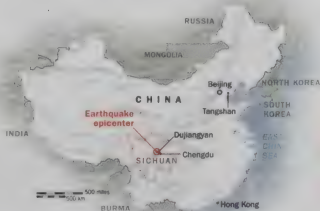
**Z**HANG XUEDE STANDS NEAR WHAT was once the city of Dujiangyan's Xinjian elementary school, surrounded by mud, debris, twisted metal and slabs of concrete. The 70-year-old has kept vigil for the better part of a day after the school was flattened by the May 12 earthquake. He's looking for his grandson but not really expecting to find him. "After the quake hit, I ran to the school and started removing rubble," Zhang says. "I uncovered several children. Some were dead, some still alive. But I couldn't find my grandson." Unlike many others waiting in the steady drizzle, Zhang seems to have accepted that his grandson probably won't make it out alive. When a neighbor asks about the boy, Zhang replies flatly, "He's dead."

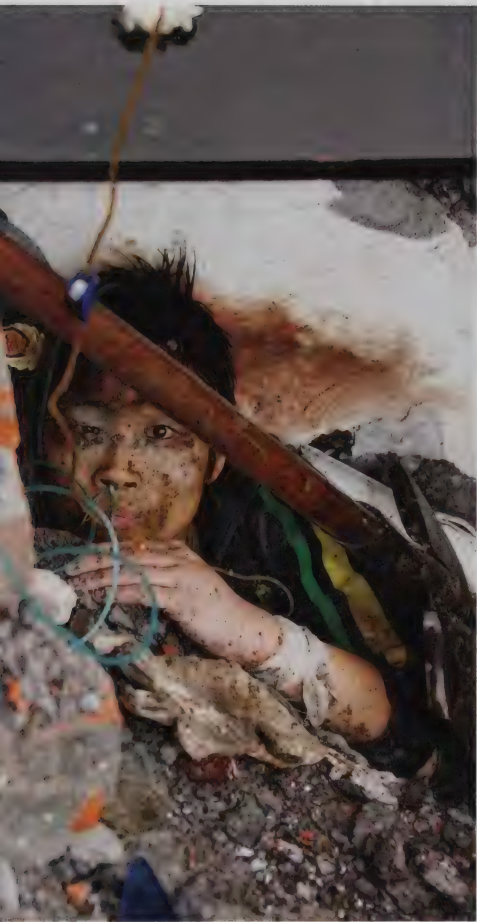
That awful realization awaits hundreds of thousands of Chinese as time inexorably runs out for those trapped under the rubble of the 7.9-magnitude quake that rocked the densely populated Sichuan province. Two days after the first shock, the official death toll had risen to 15,000—and was certain to soar, making it the country's worst disaster since a 1976 quake in the northeastern town of Tangshan killed at least 240,000.

For most of China's long history, natural disasters have been viewed as both portents of change and tests of the government's "mandate of heaven." Many Chinese point out that Mao Zedong died only months after the Tangshan quake. The May 12 quake is being discussed in similar terms in Internet forums, restaurants and tea shops, often generating an

inchoate anxiety about possible calamities to come or punishment for past wrongs. Some find a grim significance in the fact that it occurred at the boundary of China and Tibet—where military intervention in demonstrations against Beijing's rule resulted in bloodshed in March, sparking global protests that sullied China's image ahead of the Olympic Games. Others point to a string of recent calamities—a destructive snowstorm, an outbreak of disease that killed dozens of children, a fatal train accident—as evidence of some kind of heavenly displeasure.

China's Communist Party leaders now face another stern test: to show its citizens and the world that the government can cope with a horrific disaster. Keenly aware of the opprobrium heaped





**Relief and grief** Soldiers carry an injured survivor of a collapsed school in Dujiangyan, far left

**Not yet safe** A youth waits to be rescued from the debris of his middle school in Beichuan county, left

on Burma's rulers for their callous and incompetent handling of the killer cyclone earlier this month, Beijing will want to demonstrate that it has "the capability and readiness to handle an emergency like this," says Huang Jing, a China scholar at the National University of Singapore. Swift and transparent handling of the tragedy would also mark another step in Beijing's evolution from an unfeeling regime that suppressed bad news—as it tried to do with the SARS outbreak in 2003—to one more responsive to the needs of its people.

President Hu Jintao called for an "all-out" response, and the government rallied some 100,000 relief workers, including military, police and medical teams. Premier Wen Jiabao flew to Sichuan, and state-owned television showed him rallying rescue forces, even venturing into the ruins to urge victims still trapped in the rubble to "hold on a little longer." It's hard to know how much the tragedy will change China, but this much is certain: with the media allowed unprecedented freedom to report the humanitarian effort, the Chinese will be able to judge their leaders' performance as never before.

In Dujiangyan, where buildings are now just heaps of brick and concrete and corpses lie on the sidewalk, the rescue operation resembles an army assault. Military vehicles, ambulances and mobile kitchens are everywhere. Soldiers search for survivors in the debris and step in to control emotional crowds of victims' relatives. Through the night, loudspeaker-equipped trucks cruised the streets, appealing for calm: "The State Council, the Central Committee, the Sichuan, Chengdu and Dujiangyan governments are trying their best to help. Earthquakes are not something that mankind can avoid." But relief operations can still be bungled, and Beijing knows it can't afford that this time. —WITH REPORTING BY LIN YANG/ DUJIANGYAN ■



#### **After the Quake**

For continuing coverage of the disaster zone in China, including dispatches and photos, visit [time.com](http://time.com)



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**Cyclone Nargis**  
For more  
images of the disaster  
in Burma, go to  
[time.com/burma](http://time.com/burma)

# An Offer They Can't Refuse

In the midst of disaster, Burma's rulers have resisted outside help. It's time for the world to force it on them

**T**HE DISASTER IN BURMA PRESENTS the world with its worst humanitarian crisis since the 2004 Asian tsunami. The ruling military junta says that more than 30,000 people are dead; the U.N. estimates the figure at perhaps 100,000. The number of Burmese at risk of starvation and disease could reach nearly 2 million. Unless the victims receive immediate help, the death toll could conceivably approach that of the entire number of civilians killed in the genocide in Darfur.

So what is the world doing about it? Not much. The military junta that runs Burma initially signaled it would accept outside relief but has imposed so many conditions on those who would actually deliver it that barely a trickle has gotten through. Hundreds of foreign aid workers have been denied visas and blocked from visiting the stricken areas. Shipments of food and medicine have been seized. After more than 10 days, the U.N. World Food Program said it had been able to deliver only a fraction of the food required for the emergency. "I've never seen anything like this," said Julio Sosa Calo, an official for the German relief group Malteser International. "We need a huge humanitarian response. What we're doing now is too little compared to the need."

It isn't close. Even the sight of U.S. military cargo planes landing in Rangoon failed to quell the frustration. The U.S.'s top commander in the Pacific offered to "put Burmese officials on our planes and ships" if they allowed U.S. forces to bring relief supplies into the country. But there's little chance a regime this insular and paranoid will let that happen. The trouble is, the Burmese lack the kinds of assets needed to deal with a calamity of this scale—and

the longer Burma resists offers of help, the more likely it is that the disaster will generate beyond anyone's control. "A lot is at stake here," says Jan Egeland, the former U.N. emergency-relief coordinator. "If we let them get away with murder, we may set a very dangerous precedent."

So what other options exist? Here's one: if Burma's rulers continue to refuse help, the world should impose it on them—even if that requires military force. The Bush Administration has so far resisted the idea of a coercive humanitarian intervention—"I cannot imagine us

wars in Bosnia and southern Sudan. Nor would it be illegal: according to U.N. Security Council Resolution 1674, member states have a "responsibility to protect" populations from genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, if their own governments fail to do so (or are responsible for committing the crimes themselves). Burma's crisis—hundreds of thousands of innocents at risk of death because of their rulers' willful neglect—easily meets that standard.

But is an uninvited foreign intervention likely to happen? Any relief operation would be fraught with risk. Air-dropping food into the Irrawaddy Delta could cause even more chaos, in the absence of military or relief personnel on the ground who can distribute supplies. And given the junta's xenophobia and insecurity, it's a safe bet any outside troops—or worse, foreign relief workers—would be viewed as hostile forces even if the U.S. and its allies made clear that their actions were strictly for humanitarian purposes. To save the Burmese people without their rulers' consent, in other



**Leadership absent** The wreckage of a school in Kaw Hmu

going in without the permission of the Myanmar government," Defense Secretary Robert Gates said—which is somewhat surprising, since this is the same gang that unilaterally invaded Iraq. (Though considering how that turned out, maybe it shouldn't be.) But others have taken up the cause. French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner has called for the U.N. Security Council to authorize outsiders to bring in and deliver aid no matter what the junta says; David Cameron, leader of Britain's Conservatives, advocates direct airdrops to the Burmese people. The European Union's foreign policy chief said, "We have to use all means" to get aid to those still at risk.

A coercive humanitarian intervention in Burma wouldn't be without precedent: the U.S. funded and helped coordinate the delivery of aid without the host governments' consent during the

words, we may not have much choice but to shoot our way in.

All of which is to say that the junta can probably rest easy. The realities are that states rarely undertake military action unless their national interests are at stake, the world lacks consensus about when coercive measures in the name of averting humanitarian disasters are permissible and the war in Iraq has given interventions of any kind a bad name. But try telling that to Burmese like San San Khing, who has lost her money, home, food and two children and now suffers in a refugee camp in Kaw Hmu township. "We urge the U.N. and foreign governments to provide assistance... without waiting for permission of the military junta," pleads a Burmese alliance of political activists and Buddhist monks. "Just come now." What, exactly, are we waiting for?

**A coercive humanitarian intervention wouldn't be without precedent: the U.S. did it in Bosnia. Nor would it be illegal**



**Shootout in West Beirut** Shi'ite gunmen fire at Sunni positions. Their superior numbers and firepower helped Hizballah's fighters secure a quick victory

# Welcome to Hizballahstan

The militants' easy victory in the battle for Beirut leaves the U.S. yet again on the losing side of an Arab conflict, with little leverage and few options

BY ANDREW LEE BUTTERS/BEIRUT

**S**URROUNDED BY A RING OF MOUNTAINS like a concert band shell, Beirut has great acoustics. So the roiling street battles on May 8 between Hizballah militiamen and supporters of the Lebanese government echoed through the city with a drumroll of rocket explosions and a chorus of machine-gun fire that sounded like

the symphonic overture to civil war. When an early-summer thunderstorm began that night, it seemed as if the heavens themselves were taking up the ominous theme.

But by the next morning, the battle for Beirut was mostly over. After just six hours of all-out fighting, Hizballah militants were in control of areas of West

Beirut that had previously been the government's preserve. This made for some incongruous scenes. Bearded men with rifles and rocket launchers secured lingerie shops and a Starbucks in the commercial Hamra district. Elsewhere, they surrounded the houses of ministers and members of Parliament and watched buses evacuate students from the American University of Beirut. "It was like a field trip for us," said a Hizballah fighter standing on the Corniche, the city's seaside promenade. "Some [government loyalists] were begging us not to kill them. They were literally pissing in their pants."

Hizballah's victory was hardly a surprise. Its Shi'ite militiamen, who number in the thousands and are armed by Syria and Iran, have survived battle with the mighty Israeli army, while the supporters of Prime Minister Fouad Siniora's government are poorly armed amateurs on neighborhood patrol. Neither the police nor the military—which has received hundreds of millions of dollars in arms and training from the U.S.—dared to lift a finger

## Understanding Hizballah

### GOAL

An umbrella organization of radical Shi'ite groups, it is dedicated to the destruction of Israel. Bitterly opposes the U.S. and other Western nations

### ORIGINS

Founded in 1982 in response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, it has close links with Iran and Syria

### OPERATIONS

In addition to employing several thousand militants, it provides social services—schools, hospitals and agricultural aid—for poor Shi'ites

### ATTACKS

It is blamed for several terrorist strikes on U.S. and Israeli targets—including the 1983 bombing of the Marines barracks in Beirut, in which 241 died

Source: U.S. Council on Foreign Relations

extremist groups. The lesson, says Bilal Saab, a Lebanon expert at the Brookings Institution, is that "you can't pick sides in a civil war."

### Power Without Responsibility

NASRALLAH UNLEASHED HIS FIGHTERS ON the streets of Beirut after the government tried to shut down Hizballah's private telecommunications network. But he has been spoiling for this fight since November 2006, when Shi'ite parties walked out of Siniora's coalition Cabinet. Although Lebanon is a democracy, the legitimacy of its government depends on a system of sectarian quotas; without the Shi'ites—the country's largest, fastest-growing group—the Prime Minister, a Sunni, has lacked both validity and street cred. The Shi'ites' price for returning a greater share of power, including the right to veto major decisions. Siniora and other pro-U.S. members of his coalition have thus far refused, fearing among other things that such power would legitimize Hizballah's status as a state within a state.

That train has left the station. The speed and ease with which Nasrallah's fighters took over Beirut—and the military's reluctance to stop them—suggest that Hizballah has free rein of the country. Unlike Hamas, which is confined to poverty-stricken Gaza, Hizballah has at its disposal an entire country, complete with a sophisticated banking system, an international airport and a friendly neighbor in Syria. Never has a terrorist organization had that kind of infrastructure. Saab notes that Hizballah's leaders can now have their cake and eat it too: "They're in control in Lebanon without having to actually run the state."

This is all very bad news for Israel, which was drawn into a war with Hizballah in 2006 that cost 1,600 lives mainly on the Lebanese side. "Lebanon," says Israeli

Vice Premier Haim Ramon, "is controlled by this terrorist organization, and its government has become irrelevant." Israelis point out that behind Nasrallah and his fighters lurks a possibly greater threat: Iran. Hizballah's dominance in Beirut allows Tehran to project its power into the Mediterranean Sea, something the U.S. and its European allies must now factor into their calculations. (The Pentagon denied reports that the U.S.S. *Cole*, heading to the Mediterranean from the Persian Gulf, was responding to the Lebanon crisis.)

The Bush Administration's response has consisted largely of hand-wringing. President George W. Bush blamed Iran for backing Hizballah, while Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice congratulated the Arab League for issuing a statement rejecting the use of violence in Lebanon. In truth, not for the first time in the Middle East, the Administration finds itself short of good options. It can no longer count on Siniora and the Lebanese security forces to halt Hizballah's growing strength. The only way to achieve that, says Saab, is to press Israel to give up disputed territory it seized in 1967. "It removes the pretext Hizballah has for its weapons," he says.

But Israel has given no indication it will make any such concession, and few in Lebanon expect Nasrallah and his militia to weaken anytime soon. That's why some U.S. allies in Siniora's government believe it's better to engage Hizballah than pretend it can be crushed. On May 11, Walid Jumblatt, one of the leaders of the governing coalition, placed a call to Nabih Berri, the speaker of Parliament and a Hizballah ally, while *TIME* waited nearby for an interview. "Tell [Nasrallah] I lost the battle and he wins," Jumblatt said. "So let's sit and talk to reach a compromise. All that I ask is your protection."

As the hereditary chieftain of Lebanon's Druze Muslim minority, Jumblatt earned the nickname "the Weather Vane" for being able to steer his followers through the ever changing winds of Middle Eastern politics. A former vassal to the Syrian regime, he switched his loyalties to the Bush Administration after the invasion of Iraq, when it briefly seemed as if American military power would transform the region. Now he seems ready to turn again. Sitting in his garden terrace with a few family members and loyal retainers, Jumblatt said that he has spoken with the U.S. embassy to deliver his grim assessment. "The U.S. has failed in Lebanon," he said. "We have to wait and see the new rules which Hizballah, Syria and Iran will set. They can do what they want." —WITH REPORTING BY BRIAN BENNETT/WASHINGTON AND TIM MCGIRK/JERUSALEM



against Hizballah. Long after the militia-men had withdrawn from the streets, the army said it would intervene in any on-going clashes but added that it would not disarm Hizballah.

Despite the backing of the U.S., Western Europe and Arab states like Saudi Arabia, Siniora barely clings to power from his official residence and office in the Grand Serail, a former Turkish fortress surrounded by rings of barbed wire and riot police. But it is Hizballah's free-breathing leader, Sheik Hassan Nasrallah, who's calling the shots.

Sounds familiar? Think of Iraq, where a U.S.-backed government is bunkered down in the Green Zone, fighting fitfully against Shi'ite militias. Or of Palestine, where despite U.S. support and aid, President Mahmoud Abbas is powerless against the Iran-backed Hamas in Gaza. When dealing with internecine Arab conflict, the Bush Administration has never been able to back the winning team; it invariably attaches unrealistic expectations to moderate parties and underestimates



# How Healthy Is He?

John McCain has faced personal tests most of us can't imagine. But his bout with melanoma after the 2000 campaign makes his health and his age election issues today. Why he's still at risk

BY MICHAEL SCHERER AND ALICE PARK

IT WAS THE SIZE OF A DIME AND AS thick as a nickel—a discolored blotch on John McCain's left temple. He didn't pay it much mind during the heat of the 2000 Republican primary campaign. But after losing the nomination to George W. Bush, the Arizona Senator found himself with time to spare. So as Bush celebrated victory, McCain headed to the National Naval Medical Center in Bethesda, Md., to have the spot checked out.

Less than three weeks later, McCain endured 5½ hours of surgery to remove a patch of skin including the blemish, roughly 5 cm (2 in.) wide. The diagnosis: Stage 2A melanoma, an invasive form of skin cancer that claims the lives of up to 34% of those diagnosed within 10 years. Doctors also made an incision down his left cheek to remove lymph nodes in his neck in case the cancer had spread; they found it had not. The surgery left a large

scar, and for weeks McCain retreated from public view to recover.

Losing the GOP nomination in 2000 gave McCain time to catch and treat the cancer at an early stage, which possibly saved his life. "If it was left alone, the risk was high that that melanoma would not just have become thicker but would also almost certainly have spread to the lymph nodes," says Dr. Jeffrey Lee, a cancer physician at the M.D. Anderson Cancer Center, who did not participate in McCain's care. "And the assumption would be that could occur within a period of a few months, if it hadn't happened already."

Eight years later, McCain at 71 finds himself on his way to another Republican Convention, and the questions about his health are no longer secondary to his political fortunes. If he were to win in November, he would become the oldest first-term President in U.S. history. To make the issue more pronounced, his likely opponent is young enough to be his son; at 46, Barack Obama hopes to become the fifth youngest President ever.

McCain's handlers know his age is both a strength and a weakness, one that his campaign is acutely sensitive about. Early this month, aides pounced on Obama's suggestion in a television interview that McCain was "losing his bearings as he pursues the nomination" by making negative attacks. Within hours, adviser Mark Salter had released a blister-

ing memo saying the comment was a "not particularly clever" knock on McCain's age. "We have all become familiar with Senator Obama's new brand of politics," Salter concluded.

But if McCain intends to make his experience a plus with voters, he must also make sure that his health is at the very least not a negative. And so, after weeks of delay, the McCain campaign plans to deal with the issue later this month, with a release of his medical records and a briefing by his various doctors in Arizona, where he underwent the surgery. Though details are still being firmed up, the campaign

Health-care issues  
How McCain's  
medical history  
skin cancer  
lymph nodes, etc.  
don't sound like they  
are a problem

**If McCain wins,  
he will be the oldest  
first-term President  
in U.S. history.  
His likely opponent  
is young enough  
to be his son**



## A Common Affliction

A President with skin cancer is not uncommon. Sharing the details is rare



**Lyndon Johnson** He had a basal-cell carcinoma secretly removed from his left ankle in 1967. Ten years passed before the public found out.



**Richard Nixon** The tumor behind his left ear was about an inch wide when it was detected and excised in 1985. A skin graft hid the wound.



**Ronald Reagan** The White House initially covered up his 1985 surgery for skin cancer on his nose; a second tumor was removed later.



**Bill Clinton** Doctors spotted—and removed—a suspicious lesion on his back during a routine physical in 2001. It turned out to be cancerous.



**George W. Bush** He's had several actinic keratoses, due to chronic sun exposure. If left untreated, they sometimes become cancerous.

stop in the coal hills of Kentucky. His doctor checks for new blemishes every few months, with his last announced checkup taking place in March. "Everything's fine," McCain said the following day.

The campaign schedule, meanwhile, has provided McCain with perhaps the best opportunity to try to prove that his age is not an issue. With alacrity, he has routinely worked 16-hour days and six- or seven-day weeks for more than a year. While other candidates recline in privacy in the bus or on the plane between events, he grabs a candy bar or a bag of potato chips and engages reporters for hour-long interviews. Asked during one bus-ride gabfest if the issue of age had been raised by anyone during the campaign, McCain deadpanned, "Yeah, especially by my wife."

In fact, McCain has spent the majority of his life living with the physical disabilities and the mental trauma he suffered as a young Navy pilot. When his plane was shot down over Hanoi in 1967, McCain broke both his arms and his right leg at the knee. He was stabbed twice by a bayonet, had his shoulder smashed by a rifle butt and endured the angry kicks and punches of the mob that discovered him. Those injuries, along with the more calculated torture that followed during 5½ years of captivity, left him unable to raise either arm more than 80°. Depending on the weather, his right knee aches, causing a visible limp.

After his release from Vietnam, McCain

says it expects to offer enough documents and medical opinions to lay to rest any concerns about the candidate's condition. "What you are going to find is that he is in good health," says Charlie Black, a senior adviser to the campaign.

On the trail, McCain likes to deflect questions about his age and health with jokes. "I'm older than dirt—more scars than Frankenstein," he says, often before telling a story about the spry antics of his still vibrant 96-year-old mother Roberta. At a recent meeting with newspaper editors in Washington, McCain pretended to fall asleep when asked about his age.

Humor aside, the campaign has clearly decided that the candidate is his own best defense. "Obviously, I think there will be a greater observance of me," he said about his age while on a bus tour through Iowa last year. "Whether it has an impact or not will be directly related to my performance."

He is religious about taking precautions. When outdoors, he usually dons a baseball cap, even in the dim light of winter. His chalk-pale skin is a testament to the care he now takes in the sun. "I hope everyone has some sunscreen," he told the traveling press at a recent campaign

was evaluated for years by Navy psychiatrists and deemed on the whole to be coping well with the horrors of his captivity, which included malnourishment, regular beatings and two suicide attempts. Doctors determined that he had an "overdeveloped superego" and an "unrealistically high" need for achievement, two characteristics that have put him in the mainstream of presidential candidates. In 1999, before his first White House bid, McCain released 1,500 pages of medical records dating back to his days in the Navy, as well as the psychiatric evaluations he received after his return from Vietnam. He has long maintained that he never suffered flashbacks or posttraumatic stress disorder, though he admitted in his memoir that "for a long time after coming home, I would tense up whenever I heard keys rattle," a sound made by his prison guards.

The sunburns that blistered McCain's skin as a child may prove far more of a threat to his longevity than his time as a prisoner. McCain's 2000 brush with melanoma wasn't his first and, experts say, may not be his last. He had a melanoma removed from his left shoulder in 1993 and had other noninvasive skin cancers

## 'We know that there is a 40% risk of melanoma coming back with metastases.'

—DR. ANTONI RIBAS, A CANCER SURGEON AT UCLA MEDICAL CENTER

removed from his upper left arm in 2000 and his nose in 2002. All were picked up and treated in the earliest stages of the disease, but because melanoma is one of the more unpredictable types of cancer, doctors say he remains at risk for not only spread from the excised cancers but new growths as well. "We know that there is a 40% risk of melanoma coming back with metastases even though the primary lesion is taken out," says Dr. Antoni Ribas, a cancer surgeon at UCLA Medical Center, who has not treated the Senator.

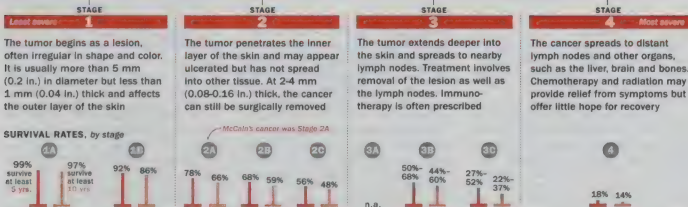
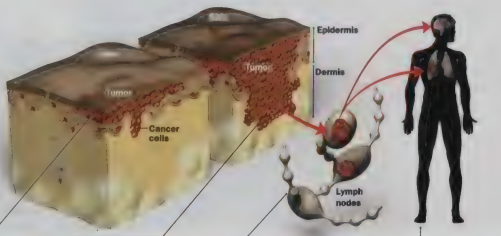
If either happens, McCain has several options. New lesions could be removed by surgery, as his previous ones were. Recurrent growths are trickier, since they are

more likely to originate not on the skin but deeper in the body. Once melanoma spreads, it generally cannot be effectively treated with surgery or radiation, which are designed to target contained growths. Chemotherapy drugs and medications that stimulate the immune system are options, but some may not be suitable for McCain, doctors say, because of his age and the toxicity of the treatments.

As for his general health, McCain says he tries to get exercise when he can, like hiking with his wife and children in Arizona, including an August 2006 trek with his son 30 miles (48 km) through the Grand Canyon over three days. "In the Senate, I try to walk up the stairs most of the time," McCain says. "I don't take the subway." On occasion, he swims, and the old Navy captain still endeavors to do his sit-ups and push-ups, though the exact number is a matter of some discussion. "I can do at least 30 or 40," he said last spring of the push-ups, as his campaign bus crossed the countryside. "But it's pretty easy to cheat on a push-up." He paused, aware that he had grabbed the attention of his traveling press. "I would never do such a thing, of course," he added, smiling. ■

## A Melanoma Primer

Melanoma can be cured if it is caught and treated in its earliest stages. Treatment involves the removal of the tumor and a surrounding margin of skin tissue. Each stage in the growth of the cancer can be subdivided further in terms of the depth and condition of the lesion and whether other tissues have been affected



Sources: American Cancer Society; cancerconsultants.com

# The Trailblazers

Obama's backers love to hate the Clintons. But without Bill and Hillary, his candidacy would not be possible

SOMEDAY SOON, WHEN HILLARY CLINTON exits the Democratic presidential race, Barack Obama will walk onstage and praise her and her husband to the heavens. Publicly, Obama can afford to be magnanimous. But it's a good bet the private Obama feels the way a lot of his supporters do: like sending Ken Starr a fan note. For many Obama activists, Clinton's brass-knuckles campaign confirmed everything they had always suspected about Hillary and her husband: that they're cynical and ruthless, the detritus of an era in which Democrats sold out their ideals to get elected. Obama's backers generally feel about the Clintons the way Reaganites felt about Gerald Ford and the way beer aficionados feel about Bud Light: that by compromising core principles, they watered down the brand.

As it shows Clintonism the door, however, Obama Nation should remember something: without that pair from Arkansas, it wouldn't be here. The 1990s weren't always pretty, but for Democrats, they were deeply necessary. Because Bill Clinton threw his body into the line, wrecking the Republican Party's intricate defenses, Obama today has the political room to run.

For starters, Clinton deracialized American politics. He didn't deracialize it completely, of course. But knitting together a coalition of blacks and whites is easier today because Clinton restored the Democrats' credibility on economic issues and took three of the most racially toxic issues in U.S. politics—crime, welfare and affirmative action—off the table.

When Michael Dukakis ran for President in 1988, crime was perhaps the biggest issue in the campaign. It splintered his coalition, pitting blacks who saw the death penalty as racially unfair against

blue-collar whites who demanded a hard line against crime and too often associated that crime with blacks. Today, by contrast, roughly 1% of Americans say crime is their top issue, and no one even knows what Obama's position on the death penalty is. For Obama, that's an enormous boon, and Bill Clinton deserves a lot of the credit. His policies—especially his bold proposal for 100,000 new cops—helped bring down the crime rate. And by



embracing the death penalty, he eliminated one of the GOP's best wedge issues. That embrace was ugly at times, as when Clinton flew back to Arkansas during the 1992 campaign to oversee the execution of a mentally retarded man. But it was politically shrewd. And because Clinton did it then, Obama doesn't have to now.

Clinton also removed the word *welfare* from America's political lexicon. In the mid-1980s, when pollsters conducted focus groups with Reagan Democrats, they found that when they talked about government help for the needy, voters saw it as welfare: taking money from whites to give to undeserving blacks. That attitude was deeply unfair, but it was a political reality. Clinton changed

that when he reformed welfare in 1996. By making it brutally clear that people who didn't work wouldn't get much help from Washington, he made it harder for Republicans to tag Democratic anti-poverty programs as handouts to "welfare queens."

On affirmative action, Clinton took the air out of a deeply polarizing issue by "triangulating" it—tweaking preference policies rather than abolishing them or

defending them outright. But perhaps Clinton's most important contribution to Obama had little to do with race. The Clinton presidency restored the Democratic Party's reputation for economic management, which Jimmy Carter had nearly destroyed. By almost 20 points, according to the Pew Research Center, Americans today trust Democrats over Republicans to guide the economy—a huge boon to Obama in what looks like a recession election. Obama owes much of that advantage to George W. Bush, of course. But he owes some of it to Clintonism too.

If Clinton had been more principled, if he had been less of a panderer, if he had tried to be

purser than his political opponents—if, in other words, he had been more like Obama—he might have opposed the death penalty, vetoed welfare reform and unambiguously defended affirmative action. He might also have gone with his liberal base, not Wall Street, and chosen economic stimulus over deficit reduction in 1993. And had he done those things, Barack Obama would probably not be in a commanding position to become the next President of the U.S. So as they bid Clintonism goodbye, Obama fans should show a little gratitude. If Bill weren't the person they revile, Barack couldn't be the person they love. ■

Beinart is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations

**The 1990s weren't always pretty, but for Democrats, they were deeply necessary**





Photographs for TIME by Anthony Suau

# How the Next President Should Fix the Economy

Your paycheck is shrinking, gas costs \$4 a gallon, and your house is losing value. Here's how to tackle the big issues

BY JUSTIN FOX



## Hard Hit

For photos of how the weak economy has battered northern Ohio, go to [time.com/ohio](http://time.com/ohio)

**I**N THE WANING MINUTES OF HIS ONLY TV debate with Democratic incumbent Jimmy Carter in 1980, Ronald Reagan looked straight into the camera and asked, "Are you better off than you were four years ago?"

It was a defining question of the campaign—and of late 20th century American politics. It was also pretty easy to answer. The "misery index," a then popular measure that added the unemployment rate to the inflation rate, had skyrocketed during Carter's tenure. Taxes had risen sharply. There *were* other issues on voters' minds, like the Iranian hostage crisis and those dang cardigans Carter used to wear. But the economy was crucial to Reagan's victory. After taking office, he responded by ushering in a new era in economic policy—cutting tax rates, slashing regulation and tirelessly preaching the gospel that individual Americans were better suited to make economic decisions than

**CDO woe** Wall Street enabled the subprime mess, and financial firms are paying a price

bureaucrats in Washington were.

This election year, the economy is again at the forefront of voters' minds. The misery index is no longer the problem; at 9% and change, it's miles below the 20% of late 1980. But Americans have a new menu of economic woes—among them a real estate crash, a credit crisis, a broken health-care system and nagging job insecurity. Poll after poll shows a vast majority convinced that the economy and the country are headed in the wrong direction.

The first and most obvious thing to be said is that this represents a big stumbling block for Republican John McCain. He's not the incumbent, so the "four years ago" line doesn't apply directly to him. But history shows that slow economic growth is among the best predictors of a change in party control of the White House—and right now the economy is barely growing at all.

The bigger issue for voters to wrestle with, though, is not what the economy can do to the presidential race but what the next President can do to the economy. Usually it's not so much. But every once in a while, like when Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected in 1932 and Reagan in 1980, the effect can be dramatic. Reagan's policies, together with some luck and the inflation-killing

zeal of Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker, helped the U.S. economy break out of its 1970s malaise into a new era of flexibility, innovation and growth. And this era didn't end when Reagan left office in 1989. Subsequent Presidents, even Democrat Bill Clinton, followed more or less in Reagan's footsteps.

Economic eras don't last forever, though, and there are signs that the current slowdown is a harbinger of something bigger: an end to America's 25-year love affair with tax cuts and deregulation. A lot of the cracks that have emerged during that time, because of global economic shifts or our own neglect, have become impossible to ignore—stagnant incomes, a federal budget gone way out of balance, soaring energy prices, a once-in-a-lifetime housing crash and growing financial risks in retirement and from health care.

What it adds up to is a generalized sense of economic insecurity that has dimmed many Americans' optimism about their future. So there's a chance that this election could turn out to be a major economic turning point, just like 1980's was. A significantly new direction in economic policy seems much more likely if Barack Obama (or Hillary Clinton, on the off chance that she returns from the political dead yet again) prevails in November. But throw John McCain together with a Democratic Congress, and who knows what might pop out? Economic trouble begets economic change. Here's what may be in the offing.

**The toll** About 2% of mortgages are seriously delinquent, and evictions have been piling up

## INCOME

## -\$991

### The other 99% of America could really use a raise

IF YOU FEEL AS IF YOU'VE BEEN GOING backward, you haven't been imagining it. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the median American family made \$58,407 in 2006. That's \$991 less, when you adjust for inflation, than the median in 2000, and indications are that things haven't gotten any better in 2007 or this year.

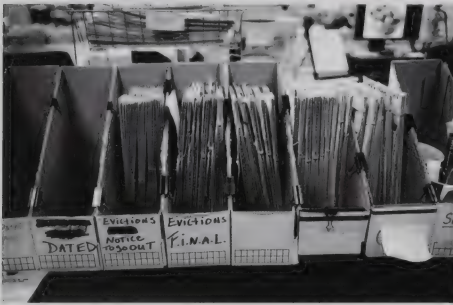
Recessions—like the one in 2001 and the one we might be in now—always reduce incomes. The problem since 2000 is that even when the economy was growing, the fruits of that growth landed almost exclusively in the pockets of the wealthiest Americans. According to economists Thomas Piketty and Emanuel Saez, 75% of all income gains from 2002 to '06 went to the top 1%—households making more than \$382,600 a year.

The gap between high and low earners has been growing since the late 1970s, and until recently, economists attributed virtually all of it to technological and demographic changes that increased the premium paid to those with advanced skills and education. If that were true, the only answer would lie along the arduous path of improving the education and skill levels of American workers. And you certainly wouldn't want to discourage people from getting an education by heavily taxing the rewards for it.

But according to Piketty and Saez, the really dramatic developments have all been at the very, very top—not the top 1% but the top 0.01%, who now control 5.46% of all income, their highest share on record. (The data go back to 1913.) Most of these people are well educated, but it's awfully hard to portray their riches purely as rewards for education or skill.

Many economists now believe at least two other factors have contributed to the growth in inequality: globalization and Reagan's big cuts in taxes on the rich. Even as it rewards those at the top of their fields worldwide with spectacular paydays, globalization holds down earnings for millions of Americans who compete with workers overseas—not only lower-skilled factory and phone-center workers but also engineers, lawyers and doctors. Public opinion has reacted to this with increasing distrust of free trade, a wariness that both Obama and Clinton have echoed in their campaigns. But this is touchy territory: trade may distort the income dis-

**75% of all income gains from 2002 to '06 went to the top 1%—households making more than \$382,600 a year**





tribution, but economists remain almost unanimous in warning that restricting trade would slow overall growth. There are similar concerns about using the tax code to address inequality, although Princeton political scientist Larry Bartels demonstrates in his new book, *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*, that the redistributive policies of Democratic administrations since World War II succeeded in delivering better income growth to low-income and middle-income Americans than Republican administrations did.

So what should be done about income disparity? In an April Gallup poll, 68% of respondents said wealth "should be more evenly distributed" in the U.S.—the highest percentage saying so since Gallup started asking the question in 1984. A smaller majority, 51%, agreed that "heavy taxes on the rich" were needed.

To the extent they talk about it at all, the two parties take different approaches to closing the income gap. Obama in particular has been explicit about wanting to shift more of the income-tax burden away from the middle class and onto those making more than \$200,000 a year, while McCain has spoken mainly about creating better job-retraining programs

for those displaced by globalization. Another potential path, although it hasn't been a theme in the campaign so far, would be a big effort to repair the country's crumbling infrastructure—which would create lots of jobs that couldn't be outsourced overseas and would also deliver long-term economic benefits. In any case, the income gap is an issue that's been danced around for too long. It's time to address it.

#### TAXES

**\$500 billion**

**The bill for the deficit is due. Yet everyone's for tax cuts**

IN GENERAL, WE LEVY TAXES NOT TO EASE income inequality but to fund government. They haven't quite been doing the job lately: for the 2008 fiscal year, which ends in September, the government will probably spend \$500 billion more than it takes in, a deficit of 3.5% of GDP. That should shrink when the economy starts growing again, but it's not going to disappear without either big cuts in spend-

**Hard to bear** A disappointed job seeker in Cleveland. The economy is shedding workers

ing or substantial tax increases.

And make no mistake, somebody is going to have to pay those bills someday. The message many Republicans took from Reagan's successes of the early 1980s, and still preach today, is that tax cuts pay for themselves. That's nonsense—Reagan's rate cuts for the rich *may* have paid for themselves, but the 1981 tax package as a whole (which included cuts for the poor, the middle class and corporations) clearly did not. The real lesson of the 1980s was that the U.S. can get away with running far bigger deficits than anyone thought possible while still enjoying strong growth and low inflation.

We've seen a bit more evidence of this in the 2000s, but it can't go on forever. There comes a point at which government debts grow so large that they start to weigh on the economy, through higher interest rates, bigger debt payments, a weaker currency, etc. Reagan and George W. Bush had the advantage of starting out with a relatively small debt as a percentage of GDP. The next President won't be quite so lucky.



The reductions in tax rates on income, capital gains and corporate dividends that President Bush pushed through in 2001 and 2003 are due to expire in 2010. That could prove a tough blow for a still wobbly economy to weather, but it would help shrink the deficit over time.

Both Democratic candidates say they'd let most of the Bush cuts expire. Both also want to end the U.S. occupation of Iraq—the cost of which has ballooned the Bush-era deficits—although extricating ourselves certainly won't be free either. On the other hand, both are itching to spend more on everything from increased college aid to better broadband connections.

McCain wants to stay the course in Iraq. And despite his admirable record of fiscal probity in the Senate, his campaign statements about the deficit have been less than convincing. He wants to extend the Bush tax cuts that he once opposed—and add a few more of his own, saying he'll make up the difference by cutting “wasteful spending.” But even eliminating the pork-barrel congressional earmarks that McCain has long criticized would make only a dent in the deficit.

The deficit quandary is one for which none of the candidates have an entirely convincing answer—at least not yet. Unlike the current President, though, the winner in November may be forced to arrive at one once in office.

## ENERGY

**\$4** a gallon

## Burning fossil fuels and money isn't an energy policy. Let's get one

ONE OF THE BIGGEST FACTORS IN MAKING paychecks seem smaller in recent years has been the sharp increase in energy prices. There's very little a President can do to change this in the short term; the summer gas-tax holiday proposed by McCain and Clinton would put just a few dollars in the pockets of all but the biggest gas hogs. Where Presidents (and Congress) can have a big impact is in the long-term trajectory of energy prices and their effect on the economy. Elected officials can do this by steering Americans away from oil and toward other energy sources and conservation measures—or by failing to do so, which has been the *laissez-faire* policy of the past quarter-

century and has helped land us in our current sorry situation.

What makes doing the right thing on energy difficult is that it would almost inevitably involve raising costs now, with higher taxes on oil, increased subsidies for other energy sources or higher energy-efficiency standards for vehicles and homes—or all three. Economists tend to prefer the first of these approaches because taxes on gas, oil or fossil fuels in general tamp demand and allow the market—rather than members of Congress—to sift out the best alternatives.

As a rule, presidential candidates not named Ross Perot don't propose fuel-tax hikes. Interestingly, though, to fight global warming, Clinton, McCain and Obama are all in favor of a carbon-cap-and-trade regimen, which would raise the price of fossil fuels just as surely as a direct tax would. Almost in spite of ourselves, we may end up with a semi-rational long-term energy policy. It won't make gas cheaper anytime soon—or perhaps ever—but in the long run, it could strengthen the country's economic prospects.



## REAL ESTATE

**\$80** billion

## A house is the American Dream—but the tax break is costly

SOME 1.5 MILLION U.S. HOMES FELL INTO foreclosure in 2007, and the number will probably be even higher this year. Congress is debating a bill aimed at slowing this tsunami, but the window to act is rapidly closing. Next year the focus is likely to turn to preventing a rerun of the real estate debacle. An exact repeat is already unlikely; bleeding banks have toughened lending standards, and the Federal Reserve is tightening its mortgage rules, squeezing out most of those “no doc” mortgage mills.

The mess has also caused some economists to question why we subsidize housing so heavily in the first place. The tax deduction for home-mortgage interest alone costs the government about \$80 billion a year, and most of that benefit flows to the wealthiest 16% of taxpayers,



**Foreclosed, forlorn** Stopping the real estate spiral is critical for the next President

since Reagan took office, the approach has been to get out of the way and let financial markets work their magic. Now that it's clear just how much of this is black magic, there's a case to be made that financial innovation—especially when it's targeted at consumers—could do with much stricter oversight.

#### FINANCIAL SECURITY

**47** million uninsured

## Health care and retirement scare you? You're not alone

RONALD REAGAN UTTERED ANOTHER line in that 1980 debate with Jimmy Carter that has entered the history books: "There you go again," he chastised his opponent. What's less well remembered is what that was in response to. Carter had been making the case for national health insurance and said Reagan had once opposed Medicare. Reagan objected that Carter was misrepresenting his position—he had simply opposed a particular Medicare plan. But Carter was absolutely right that Reagan wasn't for universal health care—or for any other government effort to socialize risk.

In the seminal PBS series *Free to Choose*, which aired in 1980 and may have helped set the mood for Reagan's victory, economist Milton Friedman argued that economic freedom was just as important as all those freedoms written into the Bill of Rights. This went on to become perhaps the most consistent theme of the Reagan economic era: giving Americans the freedom to succeed or fail on their own economically was a good thing. And it is probably a good thing. But not an unmitigated good. Economic security matters to Americans too. And finding ways to offer more of it may be the basis of the next big economic-policy revolution.

Economic changes over the past three

decades—many the result of government decisions—have "left working families up and down much of the income spectrum living with fewer economic protections, bearing more economic risk, chancing steeper financial falls," writes Los Angeles Times reporter Peter Gosselin in his new book *High Wire: The Precarious Financial Lives of American Families*. This *Great Risk Shift* from governments and corporations to individuals, as Yale political scientist Jacob Hacker labeled it in the title of another book on the subject, has become one of the defining economic realities of our age. Some aspects of it are still in dispute: economists can't seem to agree on whether jobs really have become less secure than they were. But others are undeniable. "No one argues that Americans aren't shouldering more of the risk on health care and retirement than they used to be," says Hacker.

That you're-on-your-own ethos is already beginning to change—a little. In 2006 Congress passed a law that has brought positive changes to the 401(k) savings plans that for many Americans have replaced pensions. But the majority of private-sector workers in the country aren't offered a 401(k) or a pension, according to the Employee Benefit Research Institute. All three candidates have talked of creating a new system of portable retirement accounts for those who don't get one through employers, with Obama's plan the most ambitious.

Then there's health care, which has become perhaps the biggest source of financial worry and occasional disaster among middle-class Americans. A 2005 study found that half of all personal bankruptcies in the U.S. were attributable at least in part to medical costs.

But there's real hope on this front. It is possible to conceive of a system that brings the 47 million uninsured into the fold, improves medical outcomes and costs less than what we've got now. It's possible to conceive of because many other wealthy countries already have such systems. Figuring out exactly how to make universal health care work in the U.S. is a matter better left to its own lengthy magazine article. But if you're looking for big economic change from the next Administration, this is the form it's most likely to take.

The key, really, is to accept what works about the existing U.S. economy and at tack what doesn't. Reagan never dismantled the core elements of the New Deal, and the new President needs to take care not to thwart the dynamism unleashed by Reagan. But putting off change won't be an option much longer. ■

**Houses were supposed to be a great investment. Their prices hadn't fallen since the Great Depression**

according to the Tax Foundation. It also means we're subsidizing bigger houses and home-equity loans, possibly at the expense of other investments that might deliver a bigger economic bang. Money spent on a factory, a piece of equipment or a software program can pay off in higher growth and productivity. A house just sits there.

Several countries have dropped the mortgage-interest deduction in recent years, with no noticeably adverse effects, but there's no indication that any of our presidential candidates are contemplating such a move. What is likely to be on the next Administration's agenda are measures to restrain Wall Street—which, by buying and repackaging hundreds of billions of dollars in dodgy home loans, played a key role in bringing on the housing bubble and bust.

Current Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson has already proposed a sweeping revamp of the financial regulatory structure. What hasn't really been answered yet—but could be by a new Administration—is whether we need an entirely new regulatory approach. Ever

# Voter's Guide to the Economy. The U.S. has money troubles that are deeper than just one downturn. Who's got the best big ideas?

BY KRISTINA DELL AND ALEXANDRA SILVER

AS INCOMES STAGNATE, energy costs escalate, mortgages reset and lending tightens, voters say they are getting more worried about the economy spiraling downward—taking their standard of living along with it. To reverse those trends, the next President will have to come up with creative solutions to five big economic challenges: spending, taxes, trade, health care and energy. Here's how the candidates would take on those issues:

## DEMOCRAT

### Hillary Clinton



**'The middle class is the backbone of our economy, the key to real growth.'**

With her emphasis on health-care programs and middle-class tax breaks, she sticks to reliably popular Democratic themes on the economy

## DEMOCRAT

### Barack Obama



**'Our economy is strongest when ... opportunity is spread as widely as possible.'**

He favors a behavioral-economics approach, using incentives and simple policies to help Americans make smarter economic choices

## REPUBLICAN

### John McCain



**'We need reforms that promote growth and opportunity.'**

He has reinvented himself as a classic economic conservative, favoring new tax cuts partly paid for by reducing spending, but not on the war in Iraq

## SPENDING

The federal debt has grown 50% under Bush. How would the candidates balance the budget?

She would implement strict spending rules, like those in the 1990s, so new costs are paid for by raising money or making cuts.

He calls for pay-as-you-go budgeting: tax adjustments or new expenses must be paid for with program cuts or more revenue.

Calls for a one-year halt to most discretionary-spending increases but no longer pledges to balance the budget by his first term's end.

## TAXES

Should Bush's tax cuts for families making more than \$250,000 be eliminated?

She would end Bush's tax cuts and use the money to create tax breaks for health care, child care, retirement and college tuition.

Would eliminate Bush's tax cuts and raise capital gains tax rate to up to 28% from 15%. Seeks middle-class tax relief of \$90 billion a year.

Wants to keep Bush's tax cuts. Would kill the alternative minimum tax and lower the corporate tax rate from 35% to 25%.

## TRADE

Free trade leads to growth, but there are costs too. Should there be limits?

Concerned about job losses, she calls for a "time-out" from new trade deals until she can form a new proworker trade policy.

Says he supports trade but adds that any free-trade deal must take into account labor and environmental standards.

A staunch supporter of free trade, he says open markets create opportunity and are better for the economy in the long run.

## HEALTH CARE

What would the candidates do about soaring costs and the 47 million uninsured?

She passionately supports mandatory, universal health-care coverage, with employers and government sharing most of the costs.

He would insure all children, with the goal of universal coverage. His plan makes insurance affordable rather than mandating it.

Would push for cost containment but says government should not control the health-care industry or issue mandates for coverage.

## ENERGY

All agree that energy independence is a worthy goal. How will the candidates get there?

She would raise fuel-efficiency standards and invest in alternative energy through a \$50 billion fund financed partly by oil companies.

Would use some revenue from a cap-and-trade auction to invest in clean energy; favors raising fuel-efficiency standards for cars.

Says a market-based cap-and-trade program will spur the use of alternative-energy resources; encourages nuclear power.



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# Under Armour's Big Step Up

Out of a basement rose an apparel brand that soaked up sweat and poured profits. Now the company wants a piece of the sneaker market. Why Nike is hearing footsteps

BY SEAN GREGORY/BALTIMORE

A POSTER HANGS OVER THE DESK OF Kevin Plank, CEO of Under Armour, the red-hot athletic-apparel brand that has joined Nike, Adidas and New Balance as a major player on the market. Under Armour pitchman Eric Ogbogu, a former NFL lineman, is flexing his impressive pecs; underneath him, the tagline reads PROTECT THIS HOUSE.

That slogan has been at the center of the company's marketing campaign, and Under Armour has an equally muscular business: over the past five years, the company's comfy, moisture-wicking shirts and shorts have helped it grow at a blistering 65% annual rate. Under Armour, which had \$640 million in sales over the past year, had been scoring on the stock market too, making Plank's shares worth some \$1 billion at the peak. But as Plank prepares to move the Under Armour brand out of its comfort zone into the cutthroat, \$18.3 billion athletic-footwear market, he is exposing Under Armour's house to a tornado.

You know, one that sounds like a roaring, rollicking Swoosh? Nike, the \$18 billion sporting giant, knows a tough competitor when it sees one, and when it sees one, it attacks. So it surprised no one that as Under Armour announced it would

try to revive the long-dead cross-training category (which basically describes shoes you can use to run, lift weights, jump rope or channel surf), Nike pounced. The company launched its SPARQ trainers—as the company puts it, kicks built for Speed, Power, Agility, Reaction and Quickness—a month ahead of the May debut of Under Armour's Prototype Trainers.

Nike is trying to relaunch cross-training and deny the space to Under Armour. (The aerobics craze made Reebok, remember.) The Swoosh blitzed the airwaves with SPARQ ads during the NCAA basketball tournament; MY BETTER IS BETTER THAN YOUR BETTER went the tagline. SPARQs retail for \$70 to \$90, while Under Armour's shoes are in the \$80-to-\$100 price range.

It's not just marketing. Both Nike and Under Armour are latching onto a new approach to training that's more dynamic than lifting weights and sprinting. At Nike.com, athletes can access drill videos from "SPARQ Master Trainers": You're a basketball player, and you want to improve your quickness? Have your coach drop tennis balls at your feet, and catch them before they bounce above your knees. Under Armour will also post cross-training drills on its site this summer. "Nike is going after

them with a vengeance," says John Shanley, an analyst at Susquehanna Financial Group. "They want to make sure the introduction of the cross-trainer is as painful as possible for Under Armour."

So why would Under Armour risk the punishment? The company's apparel business is solid—up 37% in 2007—so Under Armour certainly doesn't need to jump into a new category to grow. "Maybe I'm a little naive as we approach the footwear market," says Plank, a former University of Maryland football player who started the company in his grandmother's basement more than a decade ago. "Maybe we don't recognize the fact that we're walking on a tightrope on the 55th floor. But the fact of the matter is, it feels right. And that's what brands are."

The stock market doesn't feel that way. In January, when Under Armour announced heavy marketing costs, including a \$4.4 million Super Bowl ad for the launch of the training shoe, its stock dropped 33%, to \$28.80 a share, over a two-day period. Under Armour also announced that \$28 million in first-quarter marketing expenses, an increase of 103%, helped send profits down 71% for that quarter.

Throughout Under Armour's history, Plank has relished fighting the doubters. It's in his DNA: when describing his playing style at Maryland, the 5-ft. 11-in., 210-lb. (1.8 m, 95 kg) walk-on says, "I put my head down and hit you. That was my gig." He still has a locker-room mouth—"We give a s about what we do every day"—and rarely minces words. "What makes Under Armour special is the fact that we don't make a bunch of crap for the mass market," he says.

As a strategist, though, Plank is more brains than brawn. Many analysts admire his approach to expanding his brand. Under Armour could have jumped right into one of the two biggest sports-footwear categories—running and basketball—to try to steal share from Nike, Adidas and other Bigfeet. Instead, the company chose a more disciplined approach. Under Armour tested the footwear landscape about two years ago, when it started making American football cleats. Selling soccer shoes against Adidas and Nike would have been suicidal. Football is a small, specialized market—about \$250 million in the U.S. "Our No. 1 goal was authenticating ourselves as a footwear brand," says Plank. "Does the consumer accept putting the Under Armour logo on a shoe?" Yes, as it turns out: Under Armour now has a 20% share in football cleats, according to SportsOneSource, a research firm. Next, Under Armour tried on baseball and softball cleats and grabbed an 11% share in that \$200 mil-

The Prototype Trainer



UNDER ARMOUR

DAVID VS. BIGFOOT

Under Armour is hot, but Nike has the money to kick it into the ground



The SPARQ trainer

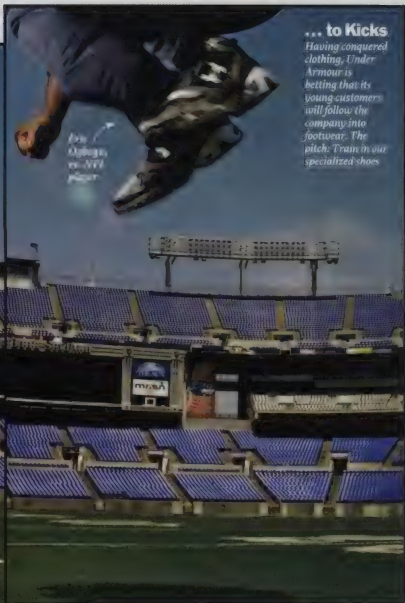
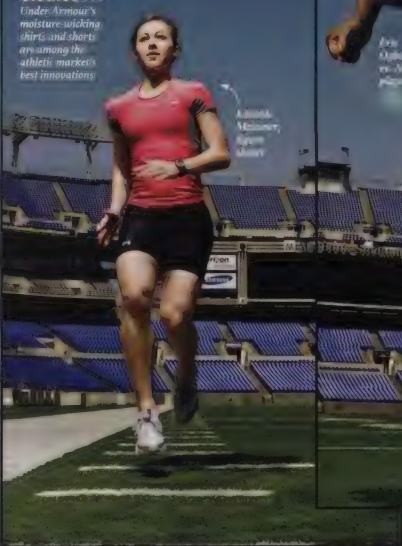
NIKE

\$640 million	Sales*	\$17.9 billion
\$45.5 million	Earnings*	\$1.8 billion
\$1.7 billion	Market cap**	\$32.2 billion
Ray Lewis	Famous endorser	LeBron James

\*Fiscal fourth quarter \*\*As of May 14, 2008

## From Clothes ...

Under Armour's moisture-wicking shirts and shorts are among the athletic market's best innovations



## ... to Kicks

Having conquered clothing, Under Armour is betting that its young customers will follow the company into footwear. The pitch: Train in our specialized shoes

lion market. "If Under Armour is going to become a full-service athletic brand, it has to go after footwear," says Shanley. "And by taking these small steps, they're being smart. They're doing the right thing."

Plus, as Under Armour moves beyond cleats to sneakers with broader appeal, it is picking an ideal entry point: the training-shoe market is ripe for a revival. Nike popularized cross-trainers in the late '80s and early '90s with its famous "Bo Knows" campaign, which depicted the multisport star Bo Jackson playing hoops, football and tennis and weight-lifting in his Nikes. Since that heyday, the sporting life has become more specialized but training more diverse.

Under Armour sees today's young, hyperfocused athletes as "95-5" players, who spend 5% of their time on the playing

field of their sport and 95% training for that sport—either by pounding weights, sprinting or doing more high-tech plyometrics, which involves a lot of leaping and side-to-side movements. The company's pitch: During that 95% training time, don't use some dumb running shoe; wear our Prototype. The company is offering three types of sneakers: the Speed Trainer is the lightest, most breathable shoe, designed for athletes who spend the bulk of their time trying to get quicker. The Power Trainer is for the bulky guys; it comes with extra cushioning at the bottom to absorb the downward force of a squat thrust.

Then there's the Evade sneaker for jocks who make more lateral moves in their drills. "The shoe becomes a piece of equipment," insists Raphael Peck, Under Armour's senior vice president and shoe guru. But will

young athletes really spend \$100 for a shoe to lift weights in? "They're spending \$40 on a T-shirt," quips Plank, nodding to the premium price that consumers are paying for Under Armour's sweat-sopping gear.

Still, at Under Armour's modest bricks-and-mortar headquarters on the Baltimore waterfront, it's pretty much all about the shoes. Plank and Peck are sitting at a table, talking kicks. "People know you're real when you're focused," Peck says, when asked if Under Armour's specialized trainers exclude a swath of potential customers—like weekend warriors and the average Joe who just wants something, anything, for the treadmill. Plank is preaching: The brand has proved itself in apparel and cleats and is ready for the next step. "We've paid our dues," he says. True. But how much will Nike raise the cost of membership? ■

Photo: Concern, Darfur

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# A VOICE FROM THE HOLOCAUST

## RUTKA'S NOTEBOOK

A VOICE FROM THE HOLOCAUST



THE LONG-LOST DIARY OF 14-YEAR-OLD  
RUTKA LASKIER, "THE POLISH ANNE FRANK"

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## The Wild and Crazy Guy.

What made Robert Rauschenberg a great American artist? His embrace of just about everything

BY RICHARD LACAYO

IT MAY BE THE LEAST OF THE many things that Robert Rauschenberg will be remembered for. But in summing up the great legacy of the artist, who died on May 12 at 82, let's pause to remember that he won a 1983 Grammy Award for the cover of the Talking Heads album *Speaking in Tongues*. Something about that feels right. It's hard to think of a better match for Rauschenberg, a demiurge of creative disorder, than the band that said, "Stop making sense."

What Rauschenberg passed on to everyone who came after him was an idea of art as a very freewheeling transaction with the world. Marcel Duchamp may have staked out something like this position sooner, but Rauschenberg gave it a more

raucous charm. True, many artists have used it since as permission to make lazy, slapdash work. So did he. But every time you see anyone doing anything that isn't supposed to be art—and calling

it art—Rauschenberg is there.

Born in Port Arthur, Texas, in 1925, he made his way to New York City by age 19. All around him was a world of beckoning refuse—umbrellas, rags, old magazines, even a stuffed eagle—things just waiting to be reunderstood, or maybe just misunderstood in more interesting ways.

Collage and assembly were techniques that had already been used meticulously by Picasso and Kurt Schwitters. Rauschenberg jammed his found objects together with a different kind of abandon. He produced industrial-strength "combines," big pieces in which worlds collided with

a bang. *Monogram*, from 1955 to '59, featured a wooden platform on which stood a stuffed Angora goat with a tire around its waist. It was typical.

Rauschenberg's early thinking crystallized in the late 1940s and early '50s at Black Mountain College, where he shared ideas with the composer John Cage, who was using chance and randomness as operating principles in his art. One famous Cage composition, *433'*, was just four minutes and 33 seconds of nothing, in which the silence and whatever random noises people heard (or made) in an auditorium became the music.

This was where Rauschenberg began to perfect the idea that he would eventually put this way: "Painting relates to both art and life. Neither can be made. (I try to act in that gap between the two.)" By the mid-'50s, he was also in a romantic relationship with the artist Jasper Johns. Trading ideas at top speed, together they were a pivot point between the psychodramas of the Abstract Expressionists who came just before them and the cool ironies of the Pop artists who came after.

Maybe the most enduring idea Rauschenberg left us is that one great task of art is not so much to impose order but to make the most of chaos. It's connected somehow to the thing we'll always remember most warmly about him: that he made not making sense ... make sense. ■



**Mixed media** His works—like *Rebus*, left—could be seen in museums or on *TIME* for the first 9/11 anniversary. To see all of Rauschenberg's *TIME* covers, visit [time.com/tr](http://time.com/tr)

# Bye Birdie, Hello, Rent

The high school musical has graduated from *Oklahoma!*

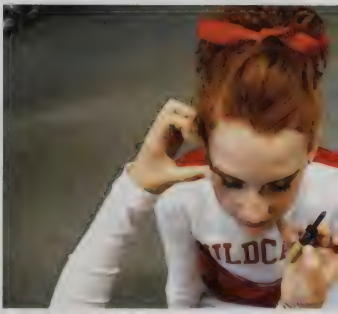
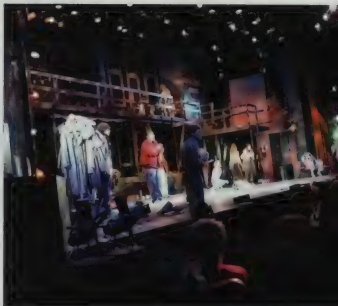
BY RICHARD ZOGLIN

**D**ONNA LETZTER, THE THEATER DIRECTOR AT WEST Aurora High School in Aurora, Ill., has put on ambitious shows like *Les Misérables*, and last year she even managed to get a helicopter to lift off from the stage for a production of *Miss Saigon*. But that was kid stuff compared with her challenge this spring: staging the nation's first licensed high school edition of *Rent*. Though the script had been pruned of most of its roughest material, this is still a show in which most of the characters are either on drugs, suffering from AIDS or sleeping with members of their own sex. Yet the reception was enthusiastic. "The local newspaper said, Thank goodness the kids are dealing with the issues," says Letzter. "Somebody's not shying away from topics that are difficult."

In high school auditoriums where *Oklahoma!* and *Guys and Dolls* once ruled, times are changing. While old favorites—and newer ones like *Grease* and Disney's TV hit *High School Musical*—still top the most popular list, a growing number of high schools are turning to more adventurous fare: big, adult epics like *Les Miz*; irreverent satires like *Urinetown*; dark musicals like *Sweeney Todd*. "There's a sense of, we want to do something new and edgy," says Jeff Knoedler of Newton South High School, outside Boston. "There's only so many times you can trot out *Oklahoma!*" Another sign that high school musicals are growing up: they've got their own awards, the Cappies, which just announced nominees in 37 categories and will hand out awards at a gala on June 8 at Washington's Kennedy Center.

The new vitality of high school musical theater can be traced, at least in part, to the popularity of reality-TV shows like *American Idol* and *Dancing with the Stars* as well as to Broadway's new family shows, from *The Lion King* to *Wicked*, which have turned more kids on to theater. Also helping broaden the repertoire is the advent of specially adapted school versions of shows that are either too unwieldy or too racy for most schools. (Some shows even have elementary- or middle-school versions.)

Doing edgier shows can still get you in trouble with conservative school officials and community groups. Local clergy have complained about school productions of *Jesus Christ Superstar*. A Wisconsin high school had to cancel *Urinetown* in 2006 when school administrators nixed it. And when a private school in suburban Baltimore offered a unique casting twist on *Big River*—Huck Finn was played by a black student and the slave Jim by a white one—the licensing agency for the show balked that a scene from the show was to be performed at the Cappies. But teachers see these shows as learning opportunities. Christine Travalino, who staged *Urinetown* at Perry High School in Pittsburgh, Pa., used it to explore environmental issues with her kids. "You cannot get in a classroom," she says, "what you can from the high school musical." —REPORTED BY LINA LOFARO ■



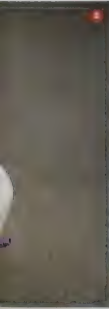
STYLING: JESSICA WATSON; HAIR: JESSICA WATSON; MAKEUP: JESSICA WATSON; SET DESIGN: JESSICA WATSON; COSTUME DESIGNER: JESSICA WATSON; PROP MASTER: JESSICA WATSON; LIGHTING DESIGNER: JESSICA WATSON; SOUND DESIGNER: JESSICA WATSON; VIDEO DESIGNER: JESSICA WATSON; PHOTOGRAPHY: JESSICA WATSON; EDITOR: JESSICA WATSON; EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS: JESSICA WATSON; PRODUCED BY: JESSICA WATSON; WRITTEN BY: JESSICA WATSON; DIRECTED BY: JESSICA WATSON



**1., 5. Rent** Students at West Aurora High School in Aurora, Ill., perform the first school edition of the show. The director sent a letter to parents of the cast members, which helped defuse any objections. So did the local paper's endorsement

**2., 4. Urinetown** Perry High School in Pittsburgh, Pa., put on the irreverent musical this spring; one attraction of this and other new musicals—their big casts allow lots of kids to get involved

**3., 6. High School Musical** Students rehearse at Mohawk Jr. Sr. High School in Bessemer, Pa., performing the hit Disney TV musical, which has had nearly 2,500 amateur productions since September 2006



## ENCORE Top 10 High School Musicals

Old faves dominated the list of the 2007 season's most performed shows

- 1. Little Shop of Horrors**
- 2. Seussical, the Musical**
- 3. Thoroughly Modern Millie**
- 4. Beauty and the Beast**
- 5. Disney's High School Musical**
- 6. Grease**
- 7. Fiddler on the Roof**
- 8. Bye Bye Birdie, Oklahoma! (tie)**
- 10. Anything Goes, Guys and Dolls (tie)**

Source: Educational Theatre Association







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I tried the new espresso machine and have to concur: it does produce perfect shots

TECHNOLOGY, PAGE 55

# Life



□ ENVIRONMENT □ TECHNOLOGY



## ENVIRONMENT

### Sizing Up Carbon Footprints. How new Web tools help measure—and shrink—your impact on global warming

BY BRYAN WALSH AND TIFFANY SHARPLES

KELSEY SCHROEDER WAS "BORN GREEN," according to her mother Angela, and she takes that environmental enthusiasm to class with her at the Oak Knoll School of the Holy Child in Summit, N.J. The 12-year-old has been a driving force in greening her school since she was a fourth-grader, pushing teachers and classmates alike to cut waste and use less

energy. But what really motivates kids—especially the sort of achievers who attend an exemplary private school like Oak Knoll—is a little competition. So when Schroeder and her classmates found out about a website launched last year that pits teams from around the country against one another in a contest to see who could be greener, they jumped on board. Her seventh-grade Royal Acorns team is Carbonrally.com's reign-

**Carbon cutters** The winning Royal Acorns of Oak Knoll show the pounds of CO<sub>2</sub> each girl has saved during the Carbonrally contests

ing champ, having saved 11.21 tons of climate-changing CO<sub>2</sub> to date.

As Americans grow more green-minded, more of them want to approach environmentalism in concrete terms. Thanks to websites like Carbonrally, one increasingly popular way to do so is by

measuring and measurably reducing our carbon footprints—the greenhouse gases we're responsible for emitting. The more dependent we are on fossil fuels, the bigger our carbon footprints; unsurprisingly, Americans, who are responsible for more than 20 tons of CO<sub>2</sub> per capita annually, have some of the biggest feet in the world. How big? A recent study by a class at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology found that even a homeless American would have a carbon footprint of 8.5 tons—twice the global average. “We have contributed more than our fair share to this problem,” says Katherine Wroth, a senior editor at the green website Grist.org. “It seems logical that we would want to contribute to the solution.”

Especially if contributing to a solution feels like playing a competitive sport. Carbonrally lays out environmental challenges and keeps score by translating green actions into pounds of carbon dioxide averted. For instance, cutting your

## ‘None of us believes this will end climate change. But it lets people feel effective.’

—ANNABELLE GURWITCH, HOST OF PLANET GREEN'S WASTED!

daily shower time by two minutes for a month—a recent challenge—reduces CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by 15.3 lbs. “This has been a great motivation technique,” says Schroeder, who has logged individual savings of more than 1,000 lbs. of CO<sub>2</sub> on Carbonrally. “We just want to keep going and see if we can do better.”

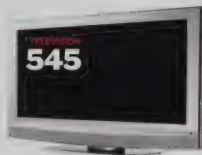
Learning your approximate carbon shoe size is the first step. Everything you do that is powered by fossil fuels has a carbon dioxide cost, and it adds up—a bit like credit card debt. Some actions, like commuting in a gasoline-powered car, have obvious carbon costs. Others are less

clear but still significant. Take your diet: livestock are responsible for an estimated 18% of global carbon emissions, so when you chow down a hamburger, you're effectively emitting CO<sub>2</sub>, as well. Even something as small as an iPod Nano will add to your carbon footprint, thanks to both the energy used to produce and ship it and the energy later needed to charge it (68 lbs. of CO<sub>2</sub> over its lifetime, according to the British design consultancy IDC).

Of course, carbon is such a universal ingredient of modern life that it's impossible to measure exactly how big your individual footprint is. But you can get a decent estimate at a number of web sites. One of the best is run by the Nature Conservancy, which leads you through a detailed questionnaire on your home energy use, driving, flying and diet. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has a carbon calculator that not only sizes up your footprint but also allows you to see how changing your

## Counting carbon

The amount of carbon emissions, in pounds, created in a year by some of our favorite things



SUV  
15,316



Source: U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

## If Your Footprint Won't Shrink. Four things you need to know about trading CO<sub>2</sub>

### 1. What are carbon offsets?

Think of it this way: the average American releases more than his or her fair share of carbon. To make up for the overload, you can help pay for projects that remove greenhouse gases or create renewable energy—say, methane-capture programs or wind farms.

### 2. How does it work?

First, determine the size of your carbon output by using a carbon calculator like the one on the EPA's website. (The average American sends out more than 20 tons of CO<sub>2</sub> per year.) Next, select an offset retailer. The retailer takes a cut, then directs your payment to a carbon-reducing project.

### 3. Where do you buy offsets?

A range of middlemen sell credits online. But beware: the offset market is largely unregulated. Dale Bryk, a senior attorney at the Natural Resources Defense Council, recommends sellers approved by the new independent accountability programs Green-e and Climate Action Reserve.

### 4. Bottom line: Do offsets make a difference?

Environmentalists are split. Some say offsets divert attention from environmental legislation and money from environmental projects. Others believe offsets have educational value and represent change that we can make here and now.

behavior—like driving less—can reduce your impact. No two carbon calculators are the same, since footprinting is still an inexact science. But using one from a green group or a government agency—and not one sponsored by a company—should give you an unbiased number that will help identify exactly where you can go greener. “Global warming is an abstract idea that is hard for people to connect to,” says Bob Schildgen, the Sierra Club’s environmental-advice columnist. “It’s good to start at the basic level, with real numbers.”

Carbonrally’s challenges offer a useful start. A recent contest involved giving up meat for two days, which would reduce carbon emissions by 13.2 lbs. Another called on competitors to unplug their computers every night for one month, which cuts CO<sub>2</sub> by 51 lbs. Each contest illustrates a basic way to shrink your footprint: remove meat from your diet, drive or fly less and just reduce the amount of power you use at home whenever possible, either through conservation or with appliances that are more energy-efficient. Winners get small prizes like tote bags—and green bragging rights. (Those who want to go the extra green mile can purchase offsets, which purport to balance out your emissions by funding a carbon-reduction project elsewhere in the world.) Altogether, Carbonrally’s 2,000 users have averted more than 150 tons of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions since the site was launched in October 2007. “We put the challenges in bite-size chunks, but that adds up,” says founder Jason Karas.

Given that global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions total more than 28 billion tons a year, however, that still doesn’t add up to a whole lot. Indeed, since carbon emissions will continue to rise in the developing world no matter what we do, it’s worth asking why we should even bother to change our lifestyles. One reason is to show others how it can be done. “None of us believes this will end climate change,” says Annabelle Gurwitch, who hosts a show on footprinting called *Wasted!* on the new network Planet Green. “But it lets people feel effective.”

That feeling means something. Patricia Palermo, a teacher and green guru at Oak Knoll, points out that her students have been hearing about the coming catastrophe of global warming since they were born. But competing in Carbonrally is contagious—Oak Knoll now has a second team—and it turns the students from passive victims into climate warriors. Fittingly, the Royal Acorns’ motto—taken from their school—is “Action, not words.” It’s a rallying cry more Americans are starting to heed. ■



#### TECHNOLOGY

## Extreme Espresso. A new Italian home machine aims for coffee lovers' holy grail: a perfect shot, every time

BY JOSH QUITTNER

TECHNOLOGY PUT A MAN ON THE MOON, but it has yet to enable the average Joe to make a perfect shot of espresso. Scores of websites are devoted to this topic. For my money, none is better than Coffeegeek.com, which I scoured some years back to come up with my current rig: a Rancilio Silvia. I adore Miss Silvia and use her daily while my dog Sticky sits at my feet. But the machine is for people who like to fiddle—and not everyone wants to grind beans, pre-heat demitasses, tamp at just the right pressure, “temperature surf” and do all the other hoo-ha necessary to produce a perfect shot (or “God shot,” as they call it on Coffeegeek). Even the lazy have a right to God shots at home, I suppose.

It is with those consumers in mind that illycaffè, the innovative Italian maker of espresso machines (and the top European exporter of coffee to North America), recently made an audacious claim: Its new Francis Francis X7 would consistently create a “perfect shot of espresso.” You can get a machine now for \$395 at [illyusa.com](http://illyusa.com); the X7 will be rolled out to national retailers shortly. I tried the machine for a week and have to concur; it did, indeed, produce perfect shots. Simply, cleanly and with no fuss—complete with a thick layer of crema atop the espresso.

How does the X7 make foolproof

crema? “Pressure—this is the old story,” says Andrea Illy, 43, a grandson of the company’s founder. After years of research, “we ended up discovering we had to change the way espresso was prepared.” Thus was born illy’s iSperEspresso brewing system. The X7 brews shots from capsules you purchase—pre-packed plastic thimbles that hold about 7 g of espresso. Though the system sounds similar to what a competitor, Nespresso, has been selling for years, illy says the X7 has a unique, two-stage process: hot water is injected into a chamber and infuses the coffee grounds until it reaches the proper pressure, then a valve opens, and a jet of espresso flows out. My tests produced crema like the head of a draft Guinness. It’s so easy, my wife could (probably) do it.

I noticed one odd side effect, however: though quieter than the Silvia, the X7 makes a small, pneumatic hiss during brewing that consistently sent Sticky into heavy-panting, tongue-lolling shock. One morning the noise made the dog jump into the shower with my daughter—and Sticky hates water. Illy says he has never heard of such a thing but notes that even perfection can be perfected. “There is never an end to possible improvements,” he says. “It’s an endless process.” Perhaps. But I still love to fiddle, so I’m sticking with Miss Silvia. You can pry her from my cold, dead, still caffeinated fingers. ■

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is figuring out how the pieces fit.

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imagination at work



## Innovators

**Kiddie Vid.** It takes funky, fresh and smart TV to capture young audiences. Here are a few creators who have mastered the secret



No couch potato *Aerobics* champ Scheving created the show and stars as superfit Sportacus

### LazyTown

Magnus Scheving, better known as Sportacus, slyly teaches kids that veggies are good and fit is cool

**HIP HERO** If your kids are suddenly getting active and eating their veggies, you may have a man from Iceland to thank. Adults know him as Magnus Scheving, 43, the creator of the hit show *LazyTown*. Kids know him as Sportacus, the dynamic star of the show who for four years has been stealthily convincing under-11s around the world that being healthy is fun.



WELCOME TO TOWN


*Acrobatic Sportacus and pink-haired Stephanie—the mayor's niece—keep you moving*

*LazyTown*—which has been sold to more than 110 countries—revolves around the residents of the eponymous town, who are constantly being tempted with junk food and idle ideas by slothful villain Robbie Rotten. In each episode, Scheving, a former aerobics champion, somersaults to the rescue and outwits the villain with acrobatics and “sports candy”—that’s fruits and vegetables to you. Sportacus is assisted by Stephanie, the mayor’s pink-haired niece (played by Julianna Rose Mauriello), who is determined that the other kids in town stay active.

The healthy-living message is clear—but not too clear. “A boy watching *LazyTown* will think it’s an action show,” says Scheving, “while a girl might think it’s a dance program.” *LazyTown*’s fans also love its vivid visuals. Shot in Gardabaer, a suburb of Reykjavik, *LazyTown* blends live action, puppetry and cutting-edge CGI backgrounds. Each 25-min. episode costs \$800,000—four times the average budget of a kids’ show.

It’s a price that’s well worth paying. “By 2015 there will be more than 700 million obese people worldwide,” says Scheving. In his native Iceland (pop. 300,000) it’s possible to see *LazyTown*’s impact. In 2004 a Sportacus-themed healthy-eating drive saw sales of fruits and vegetables skyrocket 22%. The country’s surgeon general even credits the show with helping to halt the rise in childhood obesity. “*LazyTown* is the most brilliant tax-saving phenomenon,” Iceland’s President Ólafur Grímsson told TIME. “The chance of these children developing obesity-related diseases—which place a burden on the health system—has been greatly reduced.” Cookie Monster, your days are numbered.

—BY THEUNIS BATES




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**Fab Four**  
Linnell, left,  
and Flansburgh  
with the oil-camera  
alter egos that  
appear on their videos.

## They Might Be Giants

Long popular in the rock world, John Flansburgh and John Linnell are now big with kids too

**INDIE HITS** Want a hot idea for a popular rock song? How about one that deals with mammalian metabolism? No? What about particle physics or James K. Polk? Such improbable topics have made They Might Be Giants a phenomenon in the indie-rock world for more than 20 years—and that same sense of curiosity and ingenuousness is now making them just as popular with kids.

The core members of



### BESIEGED BY SEVENS

What happens when a swarm of uninvited numerals invade a home? They demand cake, of course

the band based in Brooklyn, N.Y.—John Flansburgh and John Linnell, both 48—may have toughened their hides in the same unglamorous venues that all indie groups do, but they brought with them a gentler sensibility. Flansburgh once worked in the art departments of various educational publishers and was struck by the creative types he encountered there, particularly Theodor Geisel—or Dr. Seuss. “He was clearly writing within his own aesthetic,” says Flansburgh. “He was writing for himself, and that seems like such a good idea.”

If you want to sell your music, that aesthetic has to appeal to listeners too. In the case of They Might Be Giants, it surely did, at least among rock fans, and Flansburgh and Linnell decided kids might also get it. In 2002 they released their first collection of children’s songs—an album simply titled *No!* They soon became a fixture on the Disney Channel, writing the theme song for *Mickey Mouse Clubhouse*, as well as for *Higglytown Heroes*, an animated show in which the characters are modeled on Russian nesting dolls—a vaguely surreal concept that is perfectly suited to the band. “We’re not that interested in prosaic ideas,” says Flansburgh.

Even when the Giants do get prosaic, they do it their own way. Their recent CD and DVD hits—2005’s *Here Come the ABCs* and 2008’s *Here Come the 123s*—deal with stuff that could not be more basic, but they do so in a decidedly unbasic way. There aren’t many musicians who teach the concept of the number seven with a song about a gang of sevens invading a home and demanding cake. Think that’s too edgy for your kids? Show it to them once—and then see if you can pull them away.

—BY JEFFREY KLUGER

## Pancake Mountain

With a mix of puppets and rock bands, Scott Stuckey created a show that's fun and smart—and even a bit ironic.

**MUSIC MAN** A talking sheep named Rufus Leaking, a hot band and a crowd of kids jumping around onstage are the key ingredients of *Pancake Mountain*, one of the most energetic—and certainly one of the hippest—kids' shows on the planet. The ingredients are basic, but it took Washington-based Scott Stuckey, 44, and a group of volunteers to make a hit out of them.

Stuckey grew up fascinated by local TV. "I was a big fan of a show called *Captain 20*," he says, "and you could see the star of the show around town. I grew up thinking television was this great medium everybody could take part in."

Later, Stuckey, who used to work as a music producer, realized that TV was not as accessible as he had imagined, so he decided to combine his passion for rock 'n' roll and, as he calls it, "locally controlled arts" to produce his own show. Why did he aim it at kids?

"Let's face it," he says. "Most adults give up on music after college. You gotta plant the seeds early."

*Pancake Mountain* does not have much of an educational component to it—nor is that what Stuckey is aiming for—but



### TASTEMAKER

*Rockers like Deerhoof perform on the show, giving kids an early sampling of popular music*

it does try to get messages across. By having Rufus hold an oversize cereal box and urge kids in an exaggerated manner to get their parents to buy that exact brand, for example, the show tries to expose marketing strategies. "We want to make kids savvy by poking fun at these things," Stuckey says.

What *Pancake Mountain* tries most to do is simply be fun both for the audience and for the performers. And it seems to be succeeding: artists like the White Stripes and Henry Rollins are lining up to be part of it. *Pancake Mountain* is available on several cable-access stations, the Internet and DVD, but so far, none of the networks has picked it up. Stuckey is in talks with a number of them, however, and optimistic a deal will come. No word yet on how the nets feel about the cereal thing.

—BY STEPHANIE KIRCHNER



**Sing-along**  
Creator Stuckey performs a song with Rufus Leaking, his puppet co-host





**Dynamic duo**  
Dads Jacobs, left,  
and Schultz are  
the wild minds  
of the show

## Yo Gabba Gabba!

Two fathers, Scott Schultz and Christian Jacobs, know what it takes to appeal to kids

**PARTYBOYS** It was never easy for Scott Schultz, 36, to get his 4-year-old to eat vegetables. That is, until he started singing "There's a party in your tummy, and the green beans want to go," as he made the vegetables on the plate dance.

Parents know those experiences well—which is why it was such a stroke of inspiration for Schultz and co-creator Christian Jacobs, 36, to use them as the basis for *Yo Gabba Gabba!*, their popular and quirky show on Nick Jr. that teaches preschoolers life's important lessons. Schultz and Jacobs, who's also a father, figured a show like this was overdue. "[Kids' shows] needed a new generation of hip parents," Jacobs says, "not a bunch of executives doing research." So six years ago, they set about tackling the job themselves.

The show's recipe is familiar: Take one wacky host and put him on camera with a handful of cuddly, brightly colored monsters. Cue some funky animation and catchy songs, and kids not only brush their teeth but dance while doing it.

Still, it was hardly a straight path to the top. After struggling to get a response from several networks, the show first got traction on the Internet, where Nickelodeon execs noticed the

secret ingredient that makes *Yo Gabba Gabba!* work: funk—lots of it. The songs are set to contagious hip-hop beats, and the animation is so retro it looks like a rave party for kids. "We have all the traditional elements, but they are repackaged in a contemporary way," says Jacobs.

And it works. Reminiscent of *Pee-wee's Playhouse*, the Emmy-nominated show draws an audience of more than 700,000 viewers per week. And its absurd sense of humor and witty guest appearances by rockers like the Shins and artists like Devo's Mark Mothersbaugh make it fun for parents too. "So many shows are based on research. Well, I'm not an expert—I'm just a parent," Jacobs says. Of course, if there's a better kind of expert than that, it's hard to think of one. —BY CAROLYN SAYRE



### MONSTERS AND MUSIC!

Host DJ Lance Rock and five cuddly and colorful sidekicks are the stars of this dance party for kids

## Pororo

With the help of his giant, cuddly penguin, South Korea's Choi Jong Il lets kids dream big

**DREAMER** There was a time when it was awfully hard for South Korean preschoolers to see Korean TV. The big winners on the local channels for the very young demographic were English-language shows like *Teletubbies* and *Dora the Explorer*—hits, sure, but imported ones. It took Choi Jong Il, 44, creator of *Pororo the Little Penguin*, to change all that.

Pororo first appeared on Korean TV in 2003, and kids immediately swooned. The lead character is a 3-D penguin who lives with six animal friends on a snowy island with no adults in sight. Unlike most kids' shows, which are vague about the characters' ages, this one makes



**THIS PENGUIN CAN FLY**  
*Pororo and his friends live on a snowy island with no adults to spoil their adventures*

clear that Pororo is 4—putting him squarely in his viewership's developmental playgroup. And Pororo, like the kids who watch him, has a rich fantasy life. In this case, that means he dreams of flying—and wears an aviator hat and goggles to prove it.

Choi, the CEO of Iconix Entertainment, writes all the scenes himself from his office in downtown Seoul and says he got his inspiration for the show by watching his then 1-year-old daughter at play with her 4-year-old brother. "One minute they have all these differences. The next minute, everything is resolved," he says. Rather than push moral instruction on his audience, Choi gives his characters the freedom simply to play and learn.

Pororo has expanded well beyond South Korea in just four years and is now seen in 80 countries, its characters adorning everything from diapers to dishes. Still, it is the success at home that may be most surprising, since the show is not about learning ABCs—which is what Korean moms, eager to give their kids a leg up in the country's ferociously competitive education system, usually want. Choi's next big goal is getting a piece of the lucrative but highly competitive market in the U.S., where kids still do not know about Pororo and his playmates. If history is an indicator, they will soon. —**BY JENNIFER VEALE**

**Best in show** Choi and his oversize penguin friend have become a hit in 80 countries



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# Arts



MOVIES PHOTOGRAPHY DOWNTIME



## MOVIES

**Franchises and Faith.** Why the Narnia films hit while *The Golden Compass* flopped

BY RICHARD CORLISS

CAN GOD MAKE ONE MOVIE FRANCHISE A hit and another a flop? That was the question hovering over the first film adaptations of two best-selling fantasy series for children, C.S. Lewis' *The Chronicles of Narnia* and Philip Pullman's *His Dark Materials*. Lewis' series of seven books, published in the 1950s, was widely seen as a Christian allegory, presided over by the God-lion

Aslan, who dies and rises again. Pullman's trilogy, written in the 1990s, described a battle between a dictatorial deity and the rebel angels determined to defeat him. As the author told the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 2003, "My books are about killing God."

Not quite yet, the Almighty seemed to say when the initial movies based on these

**Divine right of princes** Caspian (Barnes) and Nikabrik (Warwick Davis) battle the dark side

**Walk in the light** Barnes and the magic children in *Caspian*; below, Compass's Richards and Kidman

franchises were released. *The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* premiered in late 2005 and earned a burly \$291.7 million at the domestic box office, plus \$453.1 million abroad, briefly becoming Walt Disney Co.'s all-time top-grossing live-action film. The first sequel, *The Chronicles of Narnia: Prince Caspian*, has just arrived, with blockbuster expectations. And the next chapter, *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader*, has already reserved the first May weekend of 2010 to open in movie theaters around the world.

*The Golden Compass*, the first of the Pullman trilogy, reached the screen last December. It cost the same as *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (\$180 million) but grossed only \$70 million at the domestic box office. The very respectable \$301 million the movie earned in foreign markets wasn't enough to mask the disappointment of its producing studio, New Line. No sequels were green-lighted, and in February New Line was folded into its parent company, Warner Bros.

### They of Little Faith

THE TWO MOVIES WERE ALIKE IN AT LEAST one major way: they did their darnedest to mute elements of religion. Anyone unaware of the books' underlying religious themes would not have become aware of them from the film versions. Both were streamlined into familiar epics of children finding adventure and peril in a fantasy realm of talking animals and fearsome monarchs; the young people in these tales might have been Dorothy yanked from Kansas and set down in Oz. Whatever was lost in the transfer of these stories from page to screen, they retained the crucial lure of all kid lit: the scary, liberating trip out of the everyday into the magical other world, where children can imagine themselves as heroes, just before bedtime.

The changes were inevitable and probably for the best. Not many kids beg to be told a ripping yarn with a feline Messiah. The theological touches in the Lewis and Pullman books are things for adults to ponder—and, when the movie versions come out, to praise or protest. Remember when that pagan fable about Harry Potter appeared as a film? An anguished cry rose from certain Christian groups, but that didn't stop the movies from grossing billions, nor did the films noticeably corrupt the little ones.

One other similarity in the two films: to this adult's eyes, they were of only middling quality. *The Golden Compass* was middling good, with a beguiling central performance by 13-year-old Dakota Blue Richards, a slinky



**The two movies were alike in at least one major way: they did their darnedest to mute elements of religion**

turn by Nicole Kidman as an evil-stepmom type and a nifty polar-bear fight. But the film never cohered, and at the end it trailed off into a preview of the two sequels that now don't look as if they'll be made. The first *Narnia* movie was middling-bad, its four lead child actors displaying little charm, their world holding lesser wonder. But, hey, it was a hit because the Lewis books had been popular with the parents and grandparents who took their young charges to see it and because the range of ages of the four young heroes gave kids from 6 to 16 someone to identify with. Disney marketed the film smartly, playing up the Christian aspects to religious groups and playing them down to everyone else. Now *Prince Caspian* (directed, like the first film, by Andrew Adamson) should be a box office dynamo.

### Out of Sight

THAT'S BECAUSE IT ELBOWS THE KID STARS into the background to concentrate on the character who, if the movies follow the books, will dominate the next two films in the series. That's Caspian (Ben Barnes), the rightful heir to the throne of the Telmarines, who currently rule Narnia. He escapes the castle just before evil Lord Miraz (Sergio Castellitto) can kill him and is exiled among rancorous dwarfs, a talk-

ing badger, centaurs and minotaurs, the recently returned four Pevensie children and, after a high body count, Aslan (voiced by Liam Neeson).

Barnes, a 26-year-old recruit from the London stage, looks like a softer Keanu Reeves and speaks in a Mediterranean accent a bit too reminiscent of Mandy Patinkin's in *The Princess Bride*. In this film, Caspian is a callow gallant, too sensitive in his fights with Miraz to close the duel. (He'll grow up fast in the next one.) But the CGI supporting characters are the big attraction here: Reepicheep, a mouse with some of the charming swagger of Antonio Banderas' Puss in Boots from the *Shrek* movies; stately tree warriors who come to Caspian's aid; magical leaves that swirl into a woman's shape; and a bearded water god who rises like some stern patriarch to drown a slew of infidels. Lots of cool stuff.

There's also a smidgen of theology, in the youngest girl's faith that Aslan will materialize. He does, of course, to warn her, "Things never happen the same way twice." That goes for stories of belief when they're turned into big commercial movies. *Prince Caspian* does its job as epic-size entertainment. If parents want a real adventure with a more overt Christian message, they can curl up with the New Testament. ■



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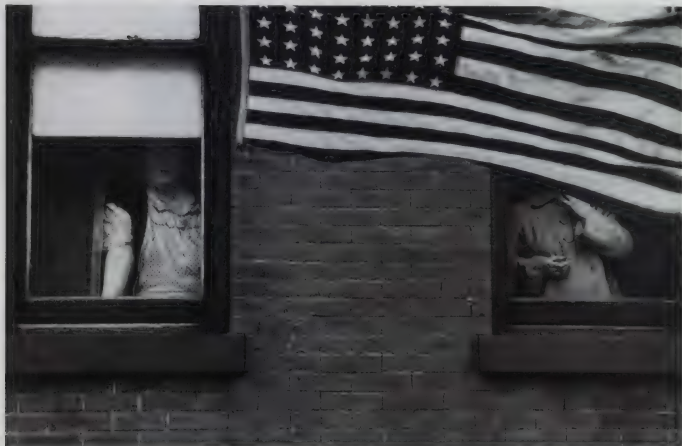
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Reference: 1. Health Partners: Beyond Benefits, January 2006; [http://www.healthpartners.com/747/media/BeyondBenefits/BH0601a\\_06.html](http://www.healthpartners.com/747/media/BeyondBenefits/BH0601a_06.html). Last accessed 8/14/07.



## PHOTOGRAPHY

# Homeland Insecurity. How two photography books, just reissued, shifted America's image of itself

Robert Frank, *Parade*—  
Hoboken, New Jersey

BY RICHARD LACAYO

THOUGH THEY MAY NOT ALWAYS LIKE to admit it, Americans have known for centuries that sometimes the best way to get a good picture of the U.S. is to see it through foreign eyes. Alexis de Tocqueville did a dead-on reading of the place. So did Charles Dickens. And Borat. Though he's neither French, British nor particularly funny, Robert Frank fits into that illustrious company. He was just 23 when he immigrated to the U.S. from Switzerland in 1947. After spending a couple of years as a fashion photographer in New York City, he returned to Europe to roam around making grave, enigmatic shots of whatever caught his eye. Then he came back to the U.S., did the same here and collected his pictures into what would eventually be judged not just as one of the greatest photography books of the 20th century but also as a cultural watershed generally, a big, cranky hinge that



Robert Frank, *Mississippi River*,  
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

the mood of the American Century turned on.

That book was *The Americans* (Steidl; 180 pages). To mark its 50th anniversary, it's being reissued this month. And Frank's masterpiece is reappearing at the same time as another almost literally groundbreaking photo book. *The New West* (Aperture; 120 pages), which first came out in 1974, was Robert Adams' bid to document the world of Ansel Adams—no relation—being devoured by the forces of environmental degradation and suburban sprawl. Both these books changed what it was possible to show. More than that, they changed what it was possible to see.

Frank read his adopted nation as very

Frank read his adopted nation as very

few other photographers had in the mid-1950s. He saw it through the filter of his own somber disposition, to be sure, but with a conviction that the most direct route into the heart of things was by way of what were supposed to be the margins. He liked to be anywhere he could find people who were forlorn, pensive, manic or needy. Exaltation attracted him too. What other word to apply to the mood of that intense man in white praying at the water's edge in *Mississippi River, Baton Rouge, Louisiana*? And everywhere, he paused in wonder at big, glowing jukeboxes dispensing their industrial light and magic into the darkness.

As Frank put it later, his goal was to make pictures that would constitute "an authentic contemporary document; the visual impact should be such as will nullify explanation." Which they did—and then some. The parameters of American photography in the 1950s were largely set by magazines like *LIFE* and *Look*. More often than not, their taste ran to shots that were crisp as an apple, easily deciphered, and put a bright spin on things. Frank's were blurred, murky, tilted and mysterious. In *Parade—Hoboken, New Jersey*, the Stars and Stripes flutters between two bunkered enigmas, an image radically at odds with the national dogma of strength and good cheer.

When Frank first shopped his photos around, no American publisher wanted anything to do with them, so they first appeared in book form in France in 1958. One year later a U.S. edition was brought out by Grove Press, the combative imprint that had published *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, *Tropic of Cancer* and *Naked Lunch*. The Grove edition came with an introduction by no less a hipster than Jack Kerouac. Whatever you think of his feverish prose ("The charging restless mute unvoiced road keening in a seizure of tarpaulin power..."), in one lovely line Kerouac got the book just right. "After seeing these pictures," he wrote, "you end up finally not knowing anymore whether a jukebox is sadder than a coffin."

Very soon more conventional critics got hold of Frank's book. "Sick" and "joyless" were two of the milder terms they used. But in the 1960s, amid the general dismantling of all national certainties, *The Americans* was revisited and then very quickly understood as indispensable. For one thing, it brought to American photography the same tragic dimension that American fiction had arrived at long before. It also paved the way for a new kind of documentary photography, one that was more personal and idiosyncratic and much stranger. Because of *The Americans*,

**Art Blog**  
Richard Lacayo writes daily  
about art and architecture at  
[time.com/lookingaround](http://time.com/lookingaround)

Diane Arbus and Lee Friedlander, virtuosos of the mordant and off-kilter, could take pictures the way they did—and we could understand them.

Because of Frank, it was also possible to make sense of Robert Adams when he came along in the 1970s to plant the flag of art at the edge of civilization, meaning the fast-growing townlets eating up Colorado. The great tradition of Western landscape photography, the one stretching from the 19th century to Ansel Adams, treated nature as paradise, as God's own message board. Robert Adams—no relation to Ansel—loved that tradition but knew it wasn't adequate to tell the story of the new West, full of strip malls and tract housing as sunstruck and flimsy as next year's ghost town.

And of people, like the woman silhouetted in her living-room window in *Colorado Springs*, trapped in their new suburban compartments. Adams' book helped create a new kind of landscape photography, tough-minded about the mess humans make, that's been pursued by Richard Misrach, Edward Burtynsky and scores of others. Just like Frank, Adams turned American vision toward some darker realities. But if we couldn't look in that direction, why would that qualify as vision at all? ■

**Both books changed what it was possible to show. More than that, they changed what it was possible to see**



Robert Adams, *Colorado Springs*



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## 5 Things You Should Know About. Singing from a starlet, history from Hollywood and gunslinging from a class act



### MUSIC

**Scarlett Johansson** *Anywhere I Lay My Head*; out May 20

Johansson's Tom Waits—covers album inspires questions like, What is singing? Is it the heavily affected, sometimes rhythmic rising and falling of a voice? If so, Johansson's a natural. If it means holding your attention or a long note, then problems arise. Not horrible in the Don Johnson–Bruce Willis way but ultimately just as dull and indulgent. **C-**



### VIDEO GAMES

**Boom Blox** *For the Wii*; out now

In real life, one is often discouraged from breaking things. *Boom Blox* actively rewards you for it. Overseen by Steven Spielberg—it has some of his sprightly energy—the game challenges you to demolish towers of gemlike blocks (which sometimes vanish or explode on contact) as efficiently as possible while small cartoon animals cheer you on. **B+**



### DVDS

**James Stewart: The Western Collection** *Unrated*; out May 20

He was a callow sheriff in 1939's *Destry Rides Again*, but in his postwar westerns, Hollywood's most likable star evolved into a scarred, vengeful spirit. This essential box set includes three of Stewart's oaters with director Anthony Mann: *Winchester '73*, *Bend of the River* and *The Far Country*. These are primal, searing dramas: film noir on the range. **A-**



**National Treasure: Book of Secrets** *Directed by Jon Turteltaub*; rated PG; out May 20

Please decode this incredibly important message! You have until ... oops, time's up! There's no room for armchair deduction in this alternate-history marathon that sprints from Washington to Paris, London and Mount Rushmore. Nicolas Cage is the hero, in a sequel that ultimately exhausts its imagination and the viewer's patience. **C**



### MOVIES

**Reprise** *Directed by Joachim Trier*; written by Trier and Eskil Vogt; rated R; out now

Nothing kindles despair in a young man as much as failing where a friend succeeds. Phillip (Anders Danielsen Lie) is the new literary star, Erik (Espen Klouman-Høiner) his ever more estranged pal. The story's a downer, but this Norwegian film's tone is playful and inventive, slipping nimbly from reality to fantasy—an action movie for the brain. **B+**



### WEBSESSION

## Never Gonna Say Goodbye

YOU'RE INNOCENTLY surfing the Web. Clicking on stuff. Sports scores, news stories. You know, normal things. Then it starts. A fusillade of electronic drums. A doinky synthesizer beat. A dude with a pompadour and a lot of sincerity. He's dancing—badly. He is 1980s pop star Rick Astley, and you have been **RICKROLLED**.

Rickrolling is an increasingly common online practical joke. The object is to trick people into clicking on a benign-looking link that takes them to the video for Astley's hit *Never Gonna Give You Up*. By now millions of people have inadvertently watched the video, which came out in 1987, a more innocent time when people actually listened to generic soft-core pop on purpose—the song went to No. 1.

Astley, who is currently on a 1980s revival tour with Bananarama and Cutting Crew, is reportedly bemused by the whole phenomenon, which continues to escalate. In April pranksters hijacked an online poll held by the Mets, resulting in the song being played at a Major League Baseball game, thereby effectively rickrolling thousands of unsuspecting fans and players. If Moises Alou isn't safe, who is?

—BY LEV GROSSMAN





Nancy

# Gibbs

## Our Armies, Ourselves. How we treat our veterans says a lot about America's character. These days, it isn't pretty

ETCHED ONTO THE WALL OF A SENTRY BOX IN GIBRALTAR is an unsigned indictment from an unknown soldier. You imagine him there many wars ago, keeping watch and weighing his prospects for a normal life.

*God and the soldier, all men adore  
In time of danger and not before.  
When the danger is passed and all things righted,  
God is forgotten, and the soldier slighted.*

President Kennedy quoted the verse in 1962 to the men of the Army's 1st Armored Division, who had been secretly moved into position during the Cuban missile crisis. "This country does not forget God or the soldier," Kennedy said. "Upon both we now depend."

How we treat returning soldiers once the parades have passed is a measure of a country's character and a government's competence. Often the war shadows the warriors: to the returning victors of World War II came honor and glory and the GI Bill. But for veterans of Korea—"the Forgotten War"—there was silence. Infantryman Fred Downs returned from Vietnam with four Purple Hearts, a Bronze Star and one

arm. Back in school, he was asked if he'd lost his arm in the war. Yes, he said. "Serves you right," he was told.

We've grown up since then, embraced complexity: it doesn't matter that nearly two-thirds of Americans say the Iraq war wasn't worth fighting; three-quarters say the government is not doing enough to help returning vets. They protect us when we hand them a rifle and say, "Go fight the enemy." We betray them when we hand them a pencil and say, "Now go fight the bureaucracy."

At least they're not fighting alone: Kennedy's promise to "not forget" is honored by every town that welcomes home its National Guard unit by helping members reconnect; by the ingenuity of groups like Sew Much Comfort, which provides "adaptive clothing" for vets with burns and other injuries, casts and prostheses. Mental-health professionals volunteer through Give an Hour to treat vets for free; pro bono lawyers help them navigate the dense disability-benefits maze. But private charity can't replace a public commitment to finish what we start, to do the long, hard, expensive

work of making soldiers whole when they come home.

Wars are like icebergs: much of the cost remains hidden, and the near doubling of the defense budget since 2001 does not cover what lies ahead. Better body armor and trauma care mean new life for thousands of soldiers who would have died in any earlier war. But many are broken or burned or buried in pain from what they saw and did. One in five suffers from major depression or posttraumatic stress, says a new Rand Corp. study; more than 300,000 have suffered traumatic brain injury. The cost of treating them is projected to double over the next 25 years. Four hundred thousand veterans are waiting for cases to be processed. The number seeking assistance for homelessness is up 600% in the past year.

In the face of so much need, too often comes denial. At a May 6 hearing, lawmakers lit into officials from Veterans Affairs after an e-mail surfaced from Ira Katz, its chief of mental health, on suicide rates of soldiers in its care. The subject line: "Shhh." The VA had been insisting there were fewer than 800 suicide attempts a year by vets in its care; the real number was closer to 12,000. "Is this something we should (carefully) address ourselves in some sort of release before someone stumbles

on it?" Katz asked. Bob Filner, chair of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, saw criminal negligence. "The pattern is deny, deny, deny," he told Veterans Affairs Secretary Jim Peake. "Then when facts seemingly come to disagree with the denial, you cover up, cover up, cover up."

It took a YouTube video to scald the conscience of officials at Fort Bragg, where soldiers returned from 15 months in Afghanistan to a barracks festooned with filth, paint peeling in pages off the walls. "Soldiers should never have to live in such squalor," said Defense Secretary Robert Gates, who saw the video. "Things happen too slowly." But even if the system worked perfectly, it would still take billions of dollars to meet the need.

Memorial Day was designed to honor dead soldiers; the other 364 belong to the living. Of the private efforts there is much to be proud, for they reflect the best traditions of the country the soldiers are fighting for. But the holes they are patching reveal a system in tatters; the very least veterans deserve from their government is honesty about its failures.



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